


HISTORY
OF
THE GREAT
KANAWHA VALLEY
1891
ILLUSTRATED

The title is rendered in a highly decorative, gold-tooled font. The word 'HISTORY' is in a large, bold, serif typeface. Below it, 'OF' is in a smaller, simpler serif font. 'THE GREAT' and 'KANAWHA VALLEY' are written on a flowing, ribbon-like banner that curves around the central text. The year '1891' is positioned below the banner, and 'ILLUSTRATED' is written in a cursive script on a smaller banner at the bottom right. The entire design is set against a dark, textured leather background with gold-tooled borders along the edges.



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HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT KANAWHA VALLEY

WITH FAMILY HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A STATEMENT
OF ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, INDUSTRIAL GROWTH
AND COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.

VOL. I.

ILLUSTRATED.

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INTRODUCTION.

Pioneer history does *not* repeat itself. Our country—and especially our great western trans-Allegheny country—has but recently passed through, and is hardly yet entirely emerged, in the far west, from a period of intensely active, exciting and eventful history, which can never be repeated.

The discovery, exploration, conquest, settlement and civilization of a continent, once accomplished in this age, is done for all time; there are no more continents to discover; no more worlds to conquer.

To Macaulay's imaginary New Zealander who is to stand upon the broken arches of London bridge, and speculate on the ruins of St. Paul and of London, the opportunity will never come; the ratchets of steam, electricity and printing, will hold the world from ever again retrograding. The course of civilization is onward and upward, as that of empire is westward.

The wilderness, to be settled by the pioneer Ingleses and Drapers, the Harmons and Burkes, the Gists and Tygarts, no longer exists. The occupations of the Boones and Kentons, the Zanes, McCullochs, Bradys and Wetzels, as border settlers and Indian fighters, passed away with them. There is no longer need for the Lewises and Clarkes, as trans-continental explorers; for the Fremonts and Kit Carsons as mountain path finders and path makers. For the Schoolcrafts and Catlins to study and portray, with pen and pencil, unknown races and tribes; the Pontiacs and Cornstalks, the Logans and Tecumsehs, the Black Hawks and the Girtys, have left the stage forever. The Andrew Lewises and Mad Anthony Waynes, the George Rogers Clarkes, and William Henry Harrisons, the daring frontier commanders, would have to mold their swords into pruning hooks and plow shares now. The martyrdoms of the Col. Crawfords, the Mrs. Moores, and the Flinns, can never occur again. The experiences of captive life and remarkable escapes of the Mary Ingleses, the Bettie Drapers, the Mary Moores, the Hannah Dennises and the Rebecca Davidsons, are, thanks to advancing civilization, the last of their kind, and the Anne Baileys and Bettie Zanes need fear no future rivals for their well-earned laurels.

The history that the hundreds of brave actors—of whom these are but the types and exemplars—made, in their day and generation, by their heroic deeds and sufferings, was a history unparalleled in the past, and that can never be repeated in the future; the conditions no longer exist, and can never exist again.

For the present generation, born and reared in these days of safety, law and order, peace and plenty, ease and luxury, in these days of steam and electricity, of rapid transit, more rapid communication, and all the nameless accompaniments of the latest civilization, it is difficult to look back to the days of our grandfathers, and realize that, in their day, all this vast western country from the Alleghenies even to the Pacific, now teeming with its many millions of busy, prosperous, and happy people, with their thriving cities, towns and villages, and productive valleys and plains, was then one unbroken expanse of wilderness, lying in a state of nature, roamed by herds of wild animals and tribes of savage men; unknown, or but vaguely known to the white man; never penetrated by white men except by a few exceptionably adventurous Spanish and French explorers and traders, accompanied, as usual, by pious monks and Jesuit fathers, tempted by the love of God or gold, and the hope of gain or glory.

Those who braved the dangers, privations, and hardships of pioneer life, and participated in the stirring scenes and events that attended the transformation of this wilderness into hives of busy industry, and homes of comfort and luxury, seldom kept diaries, or left written records or histories of their wonderful achievements and thrilling experiences—the circumstances and surroundings not favoring the writing or preserving of such records—nor, indeed, did the tastes of the hardy pioneers run in that direction, and, therefore, as the older generations passed away, many of them carried with them recollections and traditions that can never be recovered, and thus has been lost much of pioneer history probably as interesting as any that has been preserved.

As the histories of these exciting times will, no doubt, possess deeper interest and be more valued and prized the farther the period in which the events occurred recedes adown the stream of Time, it should be the duty of every one who can, to collect and add whatever he can, from authentic and trustworthy records and traditions, to the general fund of reliable history of this interesting period, for permanent preservation.

The Ingles and Draper families were pioneers in the then great western wilderness. The history of these first trans-Allegheny settlements is full of interest, and some of their experiences, for daring adventure, terrible suffering, and heroic endur-

ance, are not excelled by anything recorded in all the annals of border life.

As typical and illustrative of border life experiences of the early times it may be of interest to give some of the family records and vanishing traditions of these early pioneers, to preserve them from the fate of so many others now lost in oblivion, and add them to the many other interesting histories of the period.

In connection with and following the histories of the early pioneer settlements and families, will be traced briefly, in chronological order, the progressive frontier explorations and settlements along the New-River-Kanawha valleys from the Alleghenies to the Ohio river, all sandwiched throughout with collateral facts and incidents of more or less local or general historical interest.

HISTORY OF THE NEW RIVER-KANAWHA VALLEY.

On the slopes of the Grandfather mountain in North Carolina, not far from the highest land in the southern states, New river, (the upper Kanawha) takes its rise.

By reference to modern maps, a curious topographical feature in regard to the rivers of this upper New river region will be observed.

Within a radius of a few miles four important rivers take their rise; their head waters interlocking with each other; they, however, soon bid each other a final adieu, and flow their several ways to the four points of the compass.

New river rises in North Carolina, a sea-board state; but, instead of going down through the sunny south to its natural home in the bosom of the Atlantic, it strikes out defiantly, nearly due north, through Virginia, cutting its way through the Blue Ridge, the Allegheny, and parallel ridges, and finally, finds its way through the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi into the gulf of Mexico.

The Yadkin river (on which, not far from here, Squire Boone and family, including the afterward renowned pioneer, Daniel Boone, settled, in 1750, having come from Berks county, Penn.) rises in Virginia; but, instead of "pooling its issues" and joining its fortunes with its close and bold neighbor, New river, it leaves its native state and takes the back track, nearly south, through the Carolinas to the broad Atlantic, through the great Peedee.

The Roanoke river, or the Dan branch of it, rises both in Virginia and North Carolina, along the dividing line, flows nearly east until it joins the Staunton river, forming the true Roanoke, and empties into Albemarle sound; whilst the Tennessee, or Pelissipi, as the Cherokees called it here, now called

the Holston, rising similarly along and on both sides of the Virginia and North Carolina line, and in close interlock with the other streams named, starts out on its long western journey, and, finally, mingles its waters with those of the Ohio and Mississippi, or Me-sa-cha-ce-pe, as the aborigines called it, meaning the Big river, or "Father of Waters," the "Rio Grande" of De Soto.

The "New river" was first discovered and named in 1654, by Col. Abraham Wood, who dwelt at the falls of the Appomattox, now the site of Petersburg, Virginia. Being of an adventurous and speculative turn, he got a concession from the governor of Virginia to "explore the country and open up trade with the Indians to the west." There is no record as to the particular route he took, but as the line of adventure, exploration, and discovery, was then all east of the mountains, it is probable that he first struck the river not far from the Blue Ridge, and near the present Virginia and North Carolina line.

From the fact that the gap in the Blue Ridge lying between the heads of Smith's river branch of the Dan, in Patrick county, and Little river branch of New river, in Floyd county, is, to this day, called "Wood's Gap," it is highly probable that this was his route, and that the gap was named after him; if so, then it is almost certain that New river was first seen by Col. Wood, probably the first white man who ever saw it, at the mouth of Little river, about a mile and a half above "Ingles' Ferry," and being to him a *new* river, without a name, he then and there named it after himself, "Wood's river."

If this supposition is correct, then Col. Abraham Wood and his party of humble hunters and traders, anticipated, by many years, the famous exploits of the Hon. Gov. Spottswood and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, in passing the then limits of western discovery, the mysterious "Blue Ridge." As a singular example of the injustice of history: Gov. Spottswood was knighted, immortalized, and had his name perpetuated by a Virginia county for what he *didn't do* (*first* cross the Blue Ridge), while Col. Wood, who *did* do it, is *almost* forgotten. Even Col. Wood was not the *only* one, though the first, who preceded Gov. Spottswood in crossing the Blue Ridge.

In 1666, twelve years after Col. Wood, and fifty years before Gov. Spottswood, Gov. Sir William Berkely, says Arthur, despatched an exploring party across the mountains, to the west, under Capt. Henry Batte, with fourteen Virginians and fourteen Indians. They also started from Appomattox. In seven days they reached the foot of the mountains. After crossing them they came to level, delightful plains, with abundant game, deer, elk, and buffalo, so gentle as not to be frightened by the approach of man. Here they discovered a river flowing west-

ward; having followed it for several days, they came to fields and empty cabins, lately tenanted. Capt. Batte left in them some trinkets, in token of friendship.

But here the Indian guides stopped and refused to go any farther, saying that there dwelt near here a tribe of Indians that made salt and sold it to other tribes. This tribe was said to be numerous and powerful, and never let any one escape who ventured into their towns. Capt. Batte finding his Indians resolute in their determination not to venture farther, reluctantly abandoned the trip, and returned to the province. Gov. Berkely was so interested in the report that he determined to go and explore the country himself, but other cares and duties occupied him, and he never did. No mention is made here of Col. Wood's trip, but Capt. Batte must have known of it, as it had been but twelve years since Col. Wood started from, and returned to, the same point. From this meager account, it seems probable that Capt. Batte followed the same route that Col. Wood had traveled, crossed the Blue Ridge at the same point—Wood's Gap—struck New river (Wood's river), which he calls a western flowing river, at or about the same point that Wood had, and followed it downward several days before reaching the territory occupied by the salt makers which, it is highly probable, was in the Kanawha valley, and the salt made at the old Campbell's creek salt spring. There were abundant remains of ancient Indian pottery about the spring when the country was first settled by the whites.

Col. Wood, when he discovered New river did not know, of course, the extent of the river nor the destination of its waters; but these names (Wood's river and New river) were intended to attach to the whole course of the stream, from its source to its mouth, wherever that might be.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT KANAWHA VALLEY.

CHAPTER I.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

PRE-HISTORIC OCCUPATION OF THE KANAWHA VALLEY—MOUND-BUILDERS—WHO WERE THEY?—WHENCE CAME THEY?—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHEROKEES—INTERESTING EXPLORATIONS OF ANCIENT EARTH AND STONE WORKS.



IF all the nations, or confederations, of tribes of Indians occupying this country at the time of the coming of the white man, the Cherokees were the most populous and powerful probably, not even excepting the Iroquois. They were then a southern nation, occupying territory in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Georgia. For more than two hundred years they have been engaged in an almost ceaseless struggle for existence, warring with other tribes and pressed by the constant encroachments of the whites, yielding by degrees their immense claims of territory to the colonies and to the United States government, until finally in 1838 they were transplanted to new homes beyond the Mississippi.

Since 1721, the date of the first colonial treaty with them, they have been oftener and for longer time before the public, in the way of treaties, land sales, conflicts about boundaries and judicial decisions, than any other of the Indian peoples. They have passed through all this, and are now more prosperous, advanced and progressive than at any previous time in their later history. Such is a brief outline sketch of the interesting people who held this valley prior to the coming of the whites. The first known contact with them by the white race, was by the enterprising Spanish explorer, Ferdinand DeSoto, in Georgia, in 1540. For more than a century nothing more was known of them, until in 1667, Gov. Berkley of Virginia, with a view to encouraging trade with the Indian tribes, equipped an expedition, consisting of fourteen whites and fourteen Indians, to make

a trip of discovery beyond the mountains. Traveling southwest from Appomattox, whence they started, they came to and crossed the Blue Ridge, and probably into the Holston and Clinch valleys in southwestern Virginia, where they encountered the Cherokees. In 1690 something of them was made known by a Mr. Daugherty, a Virginian and an Indian trader, who had taken up his residence among them.

The first formed relations between the Cherokees and the colonists was in 1693, when twenty Indian chiefs visited Charleston, S. C., the Ashley settlement, to proffer friendship and solicit aid in their troubles with some of their unfriendly neighbors. In 1702, M. Pericault mentions them as living on the upper waters of the Kasquinpapas (Tennessee).

In 1708 the same author mentions that the Cherokees had formed a league with other tribes to wage war against the French and Mobilians, and burn their houses. About 1712, early maps show them on the Holston and Clinch, the Broad, the Catawba and the Savannah rivers. In 1713, Peter Julien was arraigned in South Carolina for holding two Cherokee women in slavery. In 1715, the Cherokees, Creeks and Yamassees formed an alliance and declared open hostilities against the South Carolina colonists. In 1716, the Cherokees killed M. M. de Ramsay and de Longucil northeast of Mobile. The French in Canada engaged the Iroquois to punish them for the act, which they did, sacking and destroying two villages, and compelling the Indians to retreat. The first formal business dealing with them was in 1721, when, by treaty agreement with South Carolina, they ceded to the colony certain lands within their boundaries.

After this there were several other treaties, prior to 1768, with the more southern colonies, but not affecting this region. In the latter year, however (1768), October 14, Mr. Stewart, British superintendent of Indian affairs, concluded a treaty with the Cherokees, at a place called Hard Labor, S. C., in which it was agreed "that the southwest boundary of Virginia should be a line extending from the point where the northern line of North Carolina intersects the Cherokee hunting grounds, about thirty-six miles east of Long Island, in the Holston river; and thence extending in a direct course north by east to Chiswell's mine on the east bank of the Kenhawa river, and thence down that stream to its junction with the Ohio river." This treaty was made in pursuance of appeals from the Indians to stop further encroachments of settlers upon their lands, and to have their boundaries definitely fixed, especially in the region of the north fork of Holston river and the headwaters of the Kenhawa. Two years later, on the 18th of October, 1770, at Lochabar, S. C., a new treaty was concluded. A new boundary

line was established by this treaty, "commencing on the south bank of Holston river, six miles east of Long Island, and running thence to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa." By these two treaties and cessions the Cherokees surrendered all right, title, interest and claim in and to this valley forever, and so far as they were concerned, it was now open and clear for the advent of the whites, who were rapidly pressing on this way. There were numerous other treaties before and after these, but not affecting this region. At the date of these cessions, there was not yet a single white settler in the Kanawha valley proper, though there were a few on the upper New river.

About the date of the latter treaty, 1770, Gen. Washington was at the mouth of the Kanawha, looking up valuable lands and locating his military land warrants for services in the northwest.

Although the Cherokees owned this valley and region up to the date of these relinquishments, and had so owned or claimed it, probably for many generations and centuries, they did not at this time occupy it, and probably had not—except in the southern, or upper New river region—for some generations previously; but there are reasons to believe that at an earlier time they had occupied not only the western portion of Virginia, but Ohio as well, in very large numbers and for a very long period of time. Whether they were driven out by superior force, or voluntarily migrated to their afterward more southern homes, it is probably now impossible to determine. Since the Cherokees evacuated the territory, it has been occupied by one or more temporary waves of population. A large portion of what is now West Virginia and Kentucky, was for some time claimed by that powerful confederacy, the "Six Nations," by right of former conquest, and also by the Shawnees and the Delawares.

This region was not held by settled occupants at the coming of the whites, but was held as a debatable territory, and used for hunting and fighting purposes by and between the northern and southern tribes. It was the northern tribes (the Shawnees, Delawares, Mengses, Wyandottes, etc.), then occupying Ohio, that caused so much suffering to the whites, by raiding the frontier Virginia settlements, and opposing by all the cruel methods known to the race, the steadily persistent progress of the hardy and daring early pioneers into this region, and they who met the whites in the desperate, bloody, ever memorable, and to them fatal conflict at Point Pleasant.

Just when the Cherokees left the Ohio valley may never be known, but it is probable that a portion of them, at least, were very far south before the middle sixteenth century, as reported by De Soto; and there are evidences of their occupation in

southern Virginia, the Carolinas and Tennessee about the middle of the seventeenth century.

MOUND BUILDERS.

Probably no ethnological question has excited more interest within the past century than the elusive and tantalizing one of the origin and history of the races and tribes of men who inhabited this country at and before the coming of the white race. They knew but little about their ancestors, they had no written records, and their traditions were vague and conflicting. It was long hoped that some buried records in hieroglyph, picture or other sign writing might be found, that would throw light upon their past history; but so far diligent search has failed to unearth anything of the kind. For a time it was hoped that a (so-called) lettered stone found in the great Gram creek mound would give some clew that would help unravel the mystery; some of the characters were supposed to resemble Sanscrit letters. Copies of it were sent to philologists and learned societies in this country and in Europe; but nothing could be made of it, and all hopes based upon it were dashed.

Several theories have been suggested as to the probable origin of the "mounds" and other earth and stone works found by the first white comers, and now known to be so numerous and widely distributed. When at first so little was known about them, no less a person than Dr. Franklin suggested that the erratic De Soto probably built them during his wanderings through the country; and the theory was advocated by Noah L. Webster and many others, but as more data were accumulated and more known about the number, extent and character of the works (there are more than ten thousand mounds and fifteen hundred enclosures in Ohio alone, and they are still more numerous in the gulf states), this theory was found to be untenable, and was abandoned.

It was then suggested that the Aztics or Toltics or Pueblos had occupied the Mississippi valley in their earlier stages of evolution, and then passed on to develop a higher state of civilization farther south. Or, reversing the order, that these Aztics or Toltics, when they had developed in their southern homes to the mound building stage, had, or a portion of them had, come up and occupied the Mississippi valley for several or many generations or centuries, when they retired or were conquered and driven out, or nearly exterminated and the remnants absorbed into the local tribes following them; forgetting, after a time, the history of the works their ancestors had built.

Another theory was that these works were built by locally developed tribes, or confederations of tribes, who having at-

tained to this degree of advancement, again degenerated, or were exterminated by war, pestilence or famine, or migrated to parts unknown, their successors being ignorant of their past history.

These and other theories have had their day and their advocates; but none of them, upon full examination, have proved entirely satisfactory.

In the meantime, interest in the subject has increased, and a great deal of work has been done by individuals, by local and state societies, by the Peabody Museum, the Smithsonian Institution and others, in opening and examining mounds and other works, collecting and comparing relics, and studying the subject generally. This careful study has developed and established one important fact, *i. e.*, that *some* of the tribes, in some of the districts, built mounds up to and even after the Columbian period. Among the relics found in some of them, were metals and other articles unquestionably of European origin, that could only have come into the hands of the natives through contact with the whites after the Columbian discovery. These facts naturally suggest, and go far to substantiate the theory that, after all, the mysterious mound builders were the ancestors of the tribes who occupied the country at the time of the coming of the whites; or were at least a people on the same general plane of intelligence and advancement as many of the tribes found here.

It cannot be said that this conclusion is yet definitely established, but the concurrence of opinion of the most careful students and ablest men who are devoting their time and labor to the investigation of the subject certainly tend strongly in this direction. Prof. Cyrus Thomas, of the Smithsonian Ethnological Bureau, Maj. J. W. Powell, of the Government Geological Bureau, Washington, Prof. Carr, of the Peabody Museum, Mr. Foster, author of "Pre-Historic Races," and others, strongly incline to this theory.

The comparison of the data obtained by an examination of these works in different parts of the country shows that there are such local peculiarities and varieties of arrangement, form and structure of the works, mode of burial in the sepulchral mounds, the character of relics deposited with the dead, &c., as to suggest that the mounds of different regions were the work of different peoples.

Prof. Thomas, in a report to the Smithsonian Institution, divides the territory east of the Rocky mountains, into eight districts, as follows :

- 1st. The Wisconsin district, or area of effigy mounds.
- 2nd. The Illinois, or upper Mississippi district.
- 3rd. The Ohio district, including the state of Ohio, the western part of the state of West Virginia, and the eastern portion

of Indiana. Of this district he says: "Although the works of this region present some features which are common to those of the Gulf section, there are several peculiar characteristics which warrant us in designating it as a distinct district. Among other of these peculiar features we notice the great circles and squares of the enclosures, the long parallel lines of earthen walls, the so-called 'altar mounds,' or mounds containing structures chiefly of clay, to which the name of 'altar' has been applied; the numerous carved stone pipes; the character of the pottery, and the method of burial."

4th. The New York district.

5th. The Appalachian district, including western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, south-west Virginia and part of southern Kentucky.

"The characteristics which appear to warrant us in concluding that the works of this region pertain to a different people from those in the other districts, at the same time seem to show some relation to those of the Ohio district. Such are the numerous stone pipes, the altar-like structures found in some of the mounds, and the presence of mica plates with the skeletons. But the peculiar features are the mode of burial, the absence of pottery, and the numerous polished celts and engraved shells found in the mounds."

6th. The middle Mississippi area, or Tennessee district.

7th. The lower Mississippi district, including the southern half of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

8th. The Gulf district, including the Gulf states east of the Mississippi.

It is not intended, of course, to bound these districts by any definite lines; they can only be stated in very general terms. However interesting the study of these several districts, the vast amount of data collected, compared and recorded, and the conclusions reached, or, still under discussion by archæologists in regard to the origin and character of the mysterious ancient works, which attest the existence of an ancient and mysterious people or peoples who built them, our interest attaches more particularly to the third, or Ohio district, which embraces the Great Kanawha valley. The great uniformity of the works throughout this district having established the conviction in the minds of archæologists, of the identity of their origin, while their peculiar characteristics are so well marked, distinct and different from the works of other districts, as to force the conclusion that their builders were a different people from those who built the works of any of the other districts.

From the time of the earliest white settlements here, the Kanawha valley has been a rich field for the collection of scattered surface relics. Splendid specimens, in great variety and vast

numbers, have been carried away to enrich private and public collections, in this country and in Europe.

Our own early citizens, unfortunately, attached little or no importance or value to them; they picked them up in the roads or the fields and laid them on the mantel or shelf, or they served as playthings for the children until given to the first stranger who came along with enough appreciation of their value or interest to ask for them and carry them away. It has only been within late years, when nearly all the loose specimens were gone, that a few citizens of the valley have tried to stop the outside drain, and to collect the few that are left into private cabinets.

Out of the great number of mounds and other ancient earth and stone works abounding in the valley, very many have been destroyed by digging them to pieces from ignorant curiosity, or, sometimes a silly search for treasure. This iconoclasm has, of course, taught no one anything, and benefited no one, but has destroyed the mounds for future intelligent examination by expert archæologists. Until a few years ago, no intelligent and systematic examination and study of these works had ever been undertaken, to try to learn something of the history and character of the mysterious people who built them, and held them, probably, for hundreds, and possibly for thousands, of years, and then vanished before the advent of the white man, leaving their unwritten records buried in these mounds, and in mystery. In 1883-4, the Smithsonian Institution sent Col. P. W. Norris, who had had large experience in mound explorations in other districts, to this valley, to examine and report upon the works here. Prof. Cyrus Thomas, in charge of the corps of mound explorers, in speaking of Col. Norris' report, says:

"Through his explorations it was made manifest that one of the most extensive and remarkable groups of ancient works in the United States is contained in the section mentioned. There is probably no group exhibiting greater variety of works. They comprise mounds of various forms, from a few inches to forty feet in height, circular and irregular enclosures; parallel lines of walls, elevated ways, basins and ditches, stone cairns and rude stone structures of an anomalous character. Although the exploration of this interesting group is far from complete, it is sufficient to indicate, with great probability, that the people who constructed the mounds within it built the Grave Creek mound, or were intimately related to the authors of that celebrated tumulus. Some indications also appear that the builders of these mounds were related to the authors of the ancient works of the Scioto valley."

From the indications still existing, a large population of mound builders must have dwelt in this valley at some time in the remote past. One of their chief centers of population was

on the Kanawha river, on both sides, from three to seven miles below Charleston. They occupied not only the alluvial bottoms, but the hills and ridges on both sides. Here they constructed a large number of works of nearly all the varieties above enumerated.

Here Col. Norris began his labors. The writer accompanied him in some of his excavations and interesting explorations, the first being on the farm of the late Col. B. H. Smith, on the north side of the river, about six and one-half miles below Charleston; the first opened being a large mound on the second bottom and about half way between the river and the hill. It is conical in form, 175 feet in diameter at the bottom and thirty-five feet high. The excavation proved it to be a double or two-story structure, as it were. The first or bottom story was twenty feet high, and afterward fifteen feet more was added, making a total of thirty-five feet. A square shaft was sunk down through the center of the mound, to and a little below the original surface of the ground. This shaft was begun twelve feet square at the top, and gradually reduced to six feet square at the bottom. But little below the surface sod was found a pile of rough, flat-tish, irregular-shaped stones, of probably 100 to 200 pounds weight each. It was about half a mile to the nearest point where they could have been gotten.

Upon removing these stones—probably a ton or more—a stone vault was discovered seven feet long by four feet deep. In this was one large skeleton, which seems to have been buried without the head, as no sign of the skull could be found; the bones were much decayed. One spearhead was the only implement found with this skeleton. Just under this vault, and six feet from the top of the mound, was found a second skeleton, ordinary size; it was surrounded by earth and much decayed. At three feet below the last, and nine feet from the top, was a third skeleton, enclosed in the remains of a bark coffin, and surrounded by dry, loose earth. The bones were less decayed than the last. The skull was a “flat head”; it had been artificially compressed. At twelve feet from the top, the earth became mixed with ashes, and so continued for three or four feet. At this depth—say sixteen feet from the top—was found decayed timbers, which, as the excavation progressed, proved to have been a wooden vault about twelve feet square and seven or eight feet high, though much decayed and fallen in from the weight of the superincumbent earth. What remained, indicated that the cover had been roof-shaped. Some of the timbers of this vault were walnut, and twelve inches in diameter. Five skeletons were found within this vault, the principal one was a huge figure, measuring seven feet six inches in length, and nineteen inches between the shoulder sockets. It lay upon the back,

head to the east, legs together, and arms by the sides. It was on the floor of the vault, and nineteen feet from the top of the mound. Beside this, four other skeletons were found within this vault. The irregular positions of the bones indicated that the skeletons (if skeletons) had been placed in standing positions, one in each corner; but the irregular heaps of these bones suggested to some who saw them, the possibility that the subjects may have been buried alive, to accompany and attend their great chief in his journey to the happy hunting grounds and land of spirits. These bones were far decayed, save the forearm of one, which was preserved by two copper bracelets, which were found still in place. Upon the slow oxidation of the copper the salts are absorbed by the bones, giving them a tinge of green, and helping to preserve them from decay.

The large skeleton above mentioned had on each wrist six heavy bracelets of copper; four others were found under the head, which, together with a spearpoint of black flint, were incased in a mass of mortar-like substance, which had evidently been wrapped in some textile fabric. On the breast was a copper gorget; in each hand were three spearheads of black flint, and others were about the head, knees and feet. Near the right hand were two hematite celts, and on the shoulders were three large and thick plates of mica. About the shoulders, waist and thighs were numerous minute perforated shells and shell beads. A handsome stone pipe, carved out of gray steatite, and highly polished, was found in the excavated dirt. In form and finish it is said to be precisely like the pipes of the southern Cherokees, and approaches very closely to a type found in the Miami and Scioto valleys.

The writer visited this group of works about fifty years ago. The whole bottom, mounds, circles and all alike, were then covered by forests; the trees being of great age and large growth; many three feet, and some probably as much as four feet in diameter, indicating that the mounds had not been disturbed, that no new ones had been built, and that neither the race who built them nor their successors had occupied the valley, and actually resided here, for many generations or centuries.

After completing the exploration of the above described mound, Col. Norris transferred his force to the opposite, or southwest side of the river, and commenced the excavation of a large mound on the Creel farm. This is one—and the largest—of a group of mounds and other works on that side of the river; all, evidently, being parts of a general, central city lying on both sides of the river. Col. Norris suggested as a name for this ancient hive of people, "Great Kanawha City."

The Creel mound is conical in form, 173 feet in diameter at the base, and thirty-three feet high. The top has been some-

what cut down and leveled for a site for a judges' stand, for a race course that was laid off around the mound. The excavation in the mound was commenced twelve feet square at the top and sunk to the bottom, narrowing as it went down.

In a very hard bed of mixed earth and ashes, about four feet from the top, were found two much decayed human skeletons, adult size, lying horizontally on their backs, with their heads to the south; and near their heads were several stone implements. From this point downward for about twenty feet, nothing of importance was discovered. The earth was of light gray color, apparently composed of clay and ashes, and was very hard. When a depth of twenty-four feet was reached the earth changed to a much darker and softer material, and there was soon discovered casts and fragments of timbers from six to twelve inches in diameter; also numerous fragments of animal bones, which had been split open, probably for their marrow. At a depth of thirty-one feet from the top, a human skeleton was found lying with the head to the north; it had evidently been enclosed in a coffin or wrapping of bark. A thin sheet of hammered native copper was found in contact with the bones of the skull and had helped to preserve them. At this point the excavation was opened out to a diameter of about sixteen feet to give a better opportunity of finding and examining whatever might lie at the base of the mound. This disclosed the fact that the builders, after having first leveled, smoothed and packed the natural surface, covered it with a layer of bark, inner side up, and spread upon this a layer of fine, clear, white ashes, probably several inches thick, though now pressed down to little more than an inch. On this bed of ashes the bodies were laid, and probably covered with bark.

Examination here brought to light ten other adult skeletons, all extended horizontally, five on each side of the central skeleton, with feet pointing towards, but not quite touching it. Like the first, they had all been enclosed in wrappings of bark. With each skeleton on the east side was an apparently new lance head about three inches long, and by the right side of the northern one a fish dart, three arrow heads and some fragments of unio shells and pottery. No ornaments or implements of any kind were found with the five skeletons on the west side. In addition to the copper plate above mentioned a few shell beads and a large lance head were found with the central skeleton. The accounts of the exploration of the two mounds above described are made up, substantially, from the notes of Col. Norris and the report of Prof. Cyrus Thomas to the Smithsonian Institution, supplemented by the recollections of the writer himself.

In closing his report of the last, or Creel mound, Prof. Thomas says: "As there were a number of holes resembling

post holes, about the base, which were filled with rotten bark and decayed vegetable matter, I am inclined to believe there was a vault here, similar to the lower vault in the Grave creek mound, in which the walls were of timber set up endways in the ground. But it is proper to state that the assistant who opened the mound (Col. Norris), is rather disposed to doubt the correctness of this explanation."

The writer remembers discussing these interesting and unique holes or tanks with Col. Norris, at the time. His (Col. Norris') opinion was, or, at least, it was his suggestion, that they were purposely constructed for water tanks to hold a supply of water to serve the departed on their long journey thither. Some of them were filled with water when discovered, and others partially filled. How did this water get into these tanks? It does not seem probable that it percolated down through the mound for more than thirty feet, nor that it was drawn up by capillary attraction from the earth below. In either case the surrounding earth would have been wet or damp, while, on the contrary, it was quite dry. If they had been the holes of vault posts, they would probably have been symmetrically arranged, perhaps in the form of a hollow square, but they were scattered and irregularly located. If they had been post holes the bottoms would have been irregular and rough, corresponding to the haggled and ragged end of posts cut off, or worn off, by a stone axe, or burnt off by fire; but the bottoms were flat and level, making a right angle with the perpendicular sides. If for posts the sides of these holes would have been irregular and rough corresponding to the shape of the posts, with impressions of knots, bark, etc. These holes were nearly true cylinders, the sides and bottom comparatively smooth, and appeared to have been designedly and carefully smoothed. If post holes, their interiors would have been like the surrounding earth; these seemed to be lined with a composition cement, apparently of clay and ashes. If ordinary post holes they would have been pervious to water; any water put in them, or by any means getting in them would have found its way through sides and bottom and been absorbed by the surrounding earth, these seemed to be water tight.

Post holes would probably have been of nearly uniform size; these varied greatly in both diameter and depth. In view of all the facts it is more probable that they were post holes or water tanks; or is there any other solution more plausible than either of these? Col. Norris who had had large experience in the exploration of mounds, in several of the districts, had never seen anything of the sort before.

As illustrating the general character of the smaller mounds of this region, many of which were examined by Col. Norris,

descriptions of a few are here quoted from the interesting report of Prof. Thomas.

One twenty feet in diameter and seven feet high, with a "beech tree thirty inches in diameter growing on it, was opened by running a broad trench through it. The material of which it was composed was yellow clay, evidently from an excavation in the hillside near it. Stretched horizontally on the natural surface of the ground, faces up and heads south, were seven skeletons, six adults and one child, all charred. They were covered several inches thick with ashes, charcoal and firebrands, evidently the remains of a very heavy fire which must have been smothered before it was fully burned out. Three coarse lance heads were found among the bones of the adults, and around the neck of the child three copper beads, apparently of hammered native copper.

"Another mound fifty feet in diameter and five feet high, standing guard as it were, at the entrance of an enclosure, was opened, revealing the following particulars; the top was strewn with fragments of flat rocks, most of which were marked with one or more small artificial cup-shaped depressions. Below these to the depth of two or three feet, the hard yellow clay was mixed throughout with similar stones, charcoal, ashes, stone chips, and fragments of rude pottery. Near the center and three feet from the top of the mound were the much decayed remains of a human skeleton, lying on its back, in a very rude stone slab coffin. "Beneath this were other flat stones, and under them charcoal, ashes and baked earth, covering the decayed bones of some three or four skeletons which lay upon the original surface of the ground. So far as could be ascertained, the skeletons in this mound lay with their heads toward the east. No relics of any kind worthy of notice were found with them.

"Another mound of similar size, upon a dry terrace, was found to consist chiefly of very hard clay, scattered through which were stone chips and fragments of rude pottery. Near the natural surface of the ground a layer of ashes and charcoal was encountered, in which were found the remains of at least two skeletons.

"A mound some 200 yards south of the enclosure, situated on a slope and measuring fifty feet in diameter and six feet in height, gave a somewhat different result. It consisted wholly of very hard clay down to the natural surface of the hill slope. But further excavation revealed a vault or pit in the original earth, eight feet long, three feet wide and three feet deep at the upper end. In this was found a decayed skeleton, with the head up hill or toward the north. Upon the breast was a sandstone gorget, and upon it a leaf-shaped knife of black flint and a neatly polished hematite celt. The bones of the right arm were found stretched

out at right angles to the body, along a line of ashes. Upon the bones of the open hand were three piles (five in each) of small leaf-shaped flint knives."

The above described four small mounds pertain to the Clifton group, a few will now be given from the extensive group below Charleston, for comparison.

Below No. 7, sunk into the original earth, was a vault about eight feet long, three feet wide and three feet deep. Lying extended on the back in the bottom of this, amid the rotten fragments of a bark coffin, was a decayed skeleton, fully seven feet long, with head west. No evidence of fire was to be seen, nor were any stone implements discovered, but lying in a circle just above the hips were fifty circular pieces of white perforated shell, each about one inch in diameter and an eighth of an inch thick. The bones of the left arm lay by the side of the body, but those of the right arm, as in one of the mounds heretofore mentioned, were stretched at right angles to the body, reaching out to a small oven-shaped vault, the mortar or cement roof of which was still unbroken. The capacity of this small circular vault was probably two bushels, and the peculiar appearance of the dark colored deposit therein, and other indications, led to the belief that it had been filled with corn in the ear.

The absence of weapons would indicate that the individual buried here was not a warrior, though a person of some importance.

"Mound 23 of the same group presents some peculiarities worthy of notice. It is 312 feet in circumference at the base and twenty-five feet high, covered with a second growth of timber, some of the stumps of the former growth still remaining. It is unusually sharp and symmetrical. From the top down the material was found to be a light gray and apparently mixed earth, so hard as to require the vigorous use of the pick to penetrate it. At the depth of fifteen feet the explorers began to find the casts and fragments of poles or round timbers less than a foot in diameter. These casts and rotten remains of wood and bark increased in abundance from this point until the original surface of the ground was reached. By enlarging the lower end of the shaft to fourteen feet in diameter it was ascertained that this rotten wood and bark were the remains of what had once been a circular or polygonal, timber-sided, and conical-roofed vault. Many of the timbers of the sides and roof, being considerably longer than necessary, had been allowed to extend the points of support often eight or ten feet, those on the sides and beyond the cropping and those on the roof downward beyond the wall. Upon the floor and amid the remains of the timbers were numerous human bones, and also two whole skeletons, the latter but slightly

decayed, though badly crushed by the weight pressing on them, but unaccompanied by an ornament or implement of any kind. A further excavation of about four feet below the floor, or what was supposed to be the floor of this vault, and below the original surface of the ground, brought to light six circular, oven-shaped vaults, each about three feet in diameter and the same in depth. As these six were so placed as to form a semi-circle, it is presumed there are others under that portion of the mound not reached by the excavation. All were filled with dry, dark dust, or decayed substances, supposed to be the remains of Indian corn in the ear, as it was similar to that heretofore mentioned. In the center of the circle indicated by the positions of these minor vaults, and the supposed center of the base of the mound (the shaft not being exactly central), and but two feet below the floor of the main vault, and in a fine mortar or cement, were found two cavities, resembling in form the bottle- or gourd-shaped vessel so frequently met with in the mounds of southeastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas. Unfortunately the further investigation of this work was stopped at this stage of progress by cold weather."

"Mound 31, of this group, seems to furnish a connecting link between the West Virginia and the Ohio mounds. It is sharp in outline, has a steep slope, and is flattened on the top, is 318 feet in circumference at the base and twenty-five feet high. It was opened by digging a shaft ten feet in diameter from the center of the top to the base. After passing through the top layer of the surface soil, some two feet thick, a layer of clay and ashes one foot thick was encountered. Here, near the center of the shaft, were two skeletons, lying horizontally, one immediately over the other; the upper and larger one with the face down and the lower with the face up. There were no indications of fire about them.

"Immediately over the heads were one celt and three lance-heads. At the depth of thirteen feet, and a little north of the center of the mound were two very large skeletons, in a sitting position, with their extended legs interlocked to the knees. Their arms were extended and their hands slightly elevated, as if together holding up a sand-stone mortar which was between their faces. This stone is somewhat hemispherical, about two feet in diameter across the top, which is hollowed in the shape of a shallow basin or mortar. It had been subjected to the action of fire until burned to a bright red. The cavity was filled with white ashes, containing small fragments of bone burned to cinders. Immediately over this, and of sufficient size to cover it, was a slab of bluish-gray limestone about three inches thick, which had small cup-shaped excavations on the underside. This

bore no marks of fire. Near the hands of the eastern skeleton were a small hematite celt and a lance-head, and upon the left wrist of the other two copper bracelets.

"At the depth of twenty-five feet, and on the natural surface, was found what in an Ohio mound would have been designated an 'altar.' This was not thoroughly traced throughout, but was about twelve feet long and over eight feet wide.

"It consisted of a layer of well prepared mortar, apparently clay, slightly mixed with ashes. This was not more than six or eight inches thick in the center of the basin-shaped depression, where it was about one foot lower than at the other margin. It was burned to a brick red and covered with a compact layer of very fine white ashes scattered thickly, through which were small water worn boulders, bearing evidences of having undergone an intense heat. The material of the shaft, after the first three feet at the top, consisted almost wholly of finely packed ashes, which appeared to have been deposited at intervals of considerable length and not at one time."

This last mound much resembles the Ohio otter mounds, but differs in this: that if an otter mound at all, it was also used as a burial mound. Near this a number of stone slab graves, box shaped, were found, also a cache resembling those found in Ohio. There are in this group of works graded roads or streets, with cross roads, the angles were marked by triangular flat stones of two sizes, corresponding to the size of the road. These stones were marked by small cup-shaped excavations on one side. In this group, forming the ancient "Great Kanawha City" of Col. Norris, there are about 100 monuments all told, consisting of mounds, large and small, of earth and stone; enclosures of earth and stone, caches, stone graves, graded streets, etc.

A number of others were examined by Col. Norris, but those above described are typical structures and will serve to show the character of the works of this region.

A comparison of these works with those of Ohio, satisfies Prof. Thomas that "The authors of these structures were also the authors of the Ohio works, or that they belonged to tribes so closely related that they may justly be considered as one people."

In discussing the probable identity of the builders of the Ohio mounds, the Kanawha mounds and the mounds of southwest Virginia, east Tennessee and western North Carolina, Prof. Thomas further says: "I have been and am still disposed to connect the mound-builders of the Kanawha valley with those of western North Carolina, but our explorations in the two sections have convinced me of their close relation to the people whose mysterious monuments dot the hills and valleys of Ohio. That they were related in some way to the mound-builders of

North Carolina and east Tennessee is more than probable, but the key to unlock this mystery, if it exists anywhere, is most likely to be found in the history, traditions and works of the Cherokees, and the traditions relating to the Tallegwi."

It is pretty well established and conceded, that the mounds of Wisconsin and, perhaps, elsewhere in the northwest, were built by the tribes inhabiting the country at the coming of the whites or their ancestors; but the case is quite different in the Ohio district, the works of which are more in doubt and mystery than those of any other part of the country. They seem to be, and probably are, much older than the northwestern mounds. The two principal theories of the origin of the mounds, that is, 1st, that they were built by an ancient, extinct and forgotten race, and 2nd, that they were built by post-Columbian tribes and their ancestors, may each be true in different localities. The effigy and some other mounds of the northwest may have been, and probably were, built in comparatively recent times, while those of the Ohio district may date back to a very remote past.

Early Spanish writers gathered from the traditions of the Mexicans and Central Americans, that the ancient Toltecs had occupied this part of the continent, the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, for a very long time and a very long while ago. Their country was called "Hue-Hue-Thlapalan." Communication was kept up between the Mexican and Central American nations and the dwellers in Hue-Hue-Thlapalan, until finally the Thlapalanese, or Toltecs, were overcome and driven out by hordes of more savage tribes, and returned to the southern regions, whence they had originally come. The time of this return to their ancient southern homes, according to the traditions, was about 2,500 years before Columbus, or 1,000 years before Christ.

Baldwin, in his very interesting work, "Ancient America," quotes de Bourbourg, Cabrera, Torquemada and others in regard to these ancient traditions and the evidences. He thinks they are very plausible and entitled to much consideration; he thinks the close similarity of their works is a strong argument in favor of the identity of their origin. He instances five mounds: Grave Creek, W. Va.; Miamisburg, Ohio; Uxmal, Mayapan and Chitzen-Itza in Mexico and Central America, that are as much alike in their way as any five Gothic churches.

The whole subject is very interesting, but I have no space here to elaborate it. It is a singular fact that what is now Ohio, was uninhabited at the first coming of the whites, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The tribes that came in later, very naturally knew nothing of the origin or history of the mounds.

Prof. Thomas expresses his conviction that there was during

the mound-building age "a powerful tribe, or association of closely allied tribes, occupying the valley of the Ohio, whose chief seats were in the Kanawha, Scioto, and Little Miami valleys." He further says that "a careful study of all the data bearing on the subject, leads me to the conclusion that the Cherokees are the modern representatives of the Talegwi, and that most of the typical works of Ohio and West Virginia owe their origin to this people. If the Cherokees were descended from or were mixed with the Talegwi, may not the Talegwi have descended from or been mixed with the Thlapalanese or ancient Toltecs?

Most of the works hereinbefore described, are of earth, but there is another interesting class made wholly of stone. Whether they were built about the same time and by the same people who built the mounds and earth enclosures, or whether by a different race, and earlier or later, is not known; certain it is, that they bear marks of very great age.

There is an interesting work of this sort at the mouth of the Kanawha, just across the river from Point Pleasant. As described by an intelligent gentleman living at the spot: It is a stone wall built in a true circle, about 200 feet in diameter, built on the alluvial river bottom, near the river. The wall was originally about six feet high, with a base about two to two and one-half feet thick. The river has cut away the bank until it has encroached upon the stone enclosure, and about fifty feet of it has tumbled down on the beach. The stones are of a size to be carried by one or two men, and were evidently brought from the cliffs back of the bottom, half a mile or more distant. It is presumable that this circular wall was built on the then surface of the general bottom level; and if so, the river has since then deposited about four and one-half or five feet of alluvium, raising the whole bottom that much, so that only a rim of loose stones on the surface now indicates where was originally the top of the wall.

My informant tells me that since the settlement of the country by the whites, there have been but seven recorded rises in the rivers that have overflowed this bottom, and that the deposit from these seven rises has been so small as not to perceptibly raise the level of the bottom; he thinks the aggregate has not exceeded an inch or two. At this rate it will be seen that at least twenty-five to forty centuries would be required to deposit the four and a half or five feet increased elevation of the bottom since the foundations of this stone wall were laid.

In the upper end of the valley, on a high mountain, steep and difficult of access, is an ancient and very remarkable stone work which is but little known, having been seen by comparatively few persons. Knowing that Capt. W. N. Page, C. E., a

gentleman who takes a lively interest in archæological subjects had made an examination of this work a few years ago, I asked him for a brief statement of what he discovered. He has kindly furnished me with a very full and interesting account of what he saw. I can do no better than to give here his statement entire, as it cannot fail to interest all who may read it.

"Prehistoric Masonry.—Near the summit of the mountain dividing the waters of Loup and Armstrong creeks, in Fayette county, West Virginia, there is found the remains of a very remarkable stone wall, which was well known by the first white settlers in the Kanawha valley, and to the Ohio Indians who passed along this route in hunting and other expeditions, toward the valley of Virginia, where, according to their legends, the buffalo migrated periodically from the Ohio valley, and further west.

"The late Dr. Buster, who was among the first white residents of the Kanawha valley, resided at the foot of this mountain, on the south bank of the river, during a long and active life. No white man had ever occupied the ground upon which his father built his cabin, according to record; and the history of the place here, is absolutely complete within his family. Paddy Huddleston, probably the first white settler within the limit of Fayette county, lived just up, and across the river, practically in sight; and from his house Daniel Boone had trapped beaver. In my last interview, about 1877, though a very old man his mind and body were still active and vigorous. He remembered talking to the Indian "medicine men" in his boyhood, as they frequently passed up the river, and discussed this wall, and the numerous relics of bones, stone implements, and pottery found over all the surrounding bottom lands. According to his statements the Indians knew of these monuments, but claimed no part in them. One of their legends set forth the fact that the Kanawha valley had been occupied by a fierce race of white warriors, who successfully resisted the approach of the "red man" from the west for a long time; but had finally succumbed, and passed away in death. The Indians claimed never to have occupied the valley, except for hunting expeditions; that they found these relics old when they first entered; and that their origin was beyond his records.

"Though such legends are not always reliable, a careful study of the conditions, habits of the people, and the bones as found at the foot of the mountain, inevitably leads to more than the suspicion of a prehistoric race, differing from the North American Indian in physiognomy, character and habits.

"Loup and Armstrong creeks empty into the Kanawha from the south, and are nearly parallel—three miles apart—for a distance of about ten miles. Like the river, both creeks have

cut deep gorges through the nearly horizontal carboniferous strata, and the smaller tributaries, heading against the "divide," have also cut to the creek level at the points of junction. The result of this denudation is a mountain, rising 1,500 feet above water level, with ribs, holding their altitude well toward either creek, while the main backbone, or water shed, has alternate knolls and low gaps, with a difference of about 300 feet elevation between the high and low points.

"As the hard sandstones of the 'conglomerate series' are under water level here, the softer, overlying strata of the 'lower barren measures' have been weathered so that the slopes are comparatively smooth. The wall in question has been constructed along an approximate contour of this mountain, about 300 feet below the high summits, and just under the low gaps, conforming as nearly as possible to such a contour, it winds around each rib, or spur, until a low place is found through which to pass, when it finally crosses the main ridge, and returning in the same manner, on the other slope, makes a complete enclosure facing the river, of about three miles in length, and varying in width from a hundred yards to a mile or more. The total length of wall has never been measured, but can hardly be less than eight or ten miles. A single cross wall at a narrow point, divides the enclosure into two nearly equal arms, in one of which there is an unfailing water supply of not more than a half cubic inch flow, from a coal measure which has been cut by a low gap at this point. When I first saw this spring in 1877, the existence of this coal measure was unknown, and the old hunters of the neighborhood were under the impression that the water came from a well, sunk upon the water shed of this gap and filled up by leaves and time. It was a circular pool about six feet in diameter, and three or four feet below the surface. Dr. Buster stated that it was at least ten feet deep when he first saw it, and held to the opinion of a well; but I am satisfied now that it is only the drainage from the coal seam mentioned, upon a floor of impervious clay. It is located on the dip side of the coal escarpment, which by actual survey covers an area of thirty-seven acres, with a maximum covering of about two hundred feet. The hole had probably been scooped out by bear and other wild animals, as the marks upon the neighboring trees from bear's claws, is evidence that this has been, and is yet to some extent, a favorite wallow, in which they roll like swine, and in their gambols, they claw the bark of trees so as to leave the mark as long as the tree may stand. Near this spring, however, and within the partition farthest from the river, there has recently been found two large circular heaps of stone, indicative of some kind of tower structure; and it is more than probable that their

location had reference to the water supply, which is not found elsewhere within the enclosure. These circles were about twenty feet in diameter, and their present appearance indicates an original height of about twenty feet. The wall has been constructed of loose stone, without any kind of cement, and of such dimensions as could be readily handled, without any attempt at quarrying or facing. Along the steepest slopes it has fallen, and can be traced only by the bench of debris, but in places where it crosses the ridges, and had level foundations, some idea of the original dimensions may yet be had. It is safe to estimate a height of six feet, upon a foundation width of from six to eight feet. Nearly all the loose stone within the enclosure seems to have been carried out for use in the structure; but in many instances blocks of the 'black flint ledge' may be observed in the wall, and since the outcrop of this ledge is lower down the slope, it is certain that such stone has been carried up hill. This fact alone is evidence of human labor; but no one can follow the traces far without ample proof of some crude architect, though at an altitude of two thousand feet above tide, the two within the enclosure are large, many exceeding five feet in diameter, with hundreds of years growth. At points may be seen oaks four feet through, evidently sprouted since the foundation of this wall was laid, as the stones have been lifted and misplaced by their growth. Wherever a cliff has been encountered, it has been utilized as far as possible, and as a rule, the wall has been joined to such cliff at the foot, rather than at the top. This would indicate an object to guard against entrance from without rather than from escape from within. As in some instances the cliffs have sufficient slope to enable ordinary animals to descend, but are too steep to climb. The wall has been built with so much batter and so roughly, that it could never have been intended for any kind of fortification, nor to confine, nor to keep out, any but domestic animals. This conclusion is clear, when the question is presented as to who performed the labor and its object.

"The flat lands along the south bank of the river, between the mouths of these creeks, and immediately in front of that portion of the wall facing the Kanawha, varies in width from five hundred to two thousand feet, while the bottoms on the opposite side are very much more extensive, and better suited for agricultural purposes; yet the greater proportion of the bones and relics are found on the south, or wall side. About two hundred acres of this bottom land, near the mouth of Armstrong, is literally filled with the bones and implements of some human race, whose history has been buried with their dead. Four years ago, in the construction of a railway, it became necessary to cut through a part of this ground, near where the old Buster cabin

had stood. This cut was about two hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, and with a maximum depth of ten feet. Within a distance of one hundred feet, there were uncovered about thirty skeletons, all buried in a like position, at an average depth of four feet. There was no evidence of mound, or monument of any kind, except a few loose stones piled upon each set of bones, below the surface, and there was no indication to point to this particular spot, which was near the river's bank. Without exception, the bodies had faced the east, or the rising sun, in a horizontal position from the hips down, and reclining at an angle of about thirty degrees from the waist up. The bones were in a fair state of preservation, but many could be crumbled with the hand. The soil being a sandy loam, had filled every crevice and marrow duct, so that even the skulls were crushed with the weight in handling, and it was with much difficulty that anything was preserved. I measured several skeletons in position, and found them to average about five feet ten inches. With one exception, the cranium was well proportioned, with broad and prominent forehead, and the facial bones more nearly resembled the white, than the red race. This exception was in all probability, a deformity, else it was a very much lower order of animal intellectually, though not physically. The teeth indicated an age of about twenty-five, and imbedded in the front of the lower jaw bone, was a full developed tooth which had never penetrated the bone. The skull was canoe shaped, sharp front and back, long, and very narrow. The occipital bone was out of all proportion, curved under, and terminating in a sharp point. The parietal bones occupied nearly the entire skull area, as the coronal and lambdoidal sutures were so far forward and back of the usual position, that both the frontal and occipital bones were curiosities. The frontal bone was also pointed, and there was no break in the canoe curve from the eye to the nape of the neck. The other bones denoted full and complete development; but he must have been a fearful sight in life. Along with these bones were found those of many food animals, such as bear, deer, elk, &c., birds, and fish scales. About three feet below the surface, a regular stratum of phosphate, about eight inches thick, extended over the greater area of the cut. Upon close examination, enough fish scales and bones remained to indicate its origin. In places, bits of charcoal, slag from melted sand, and pieces of charred bone, showed that they had feasted on cooked meats. The implements found were all stone, pottery and bone. The stone instruments consisted of greenstone celts, precisely the same as those of the Continental stone age, scrapers for dressing hides, flint spear and arrow heads in great abundance in various sizes and shapes, and a lot of quoit-shaped stones, which

had been marked, and evidently used in some system of weights, as many are exact multiples of others. The arrow heads were nearly all of the war variety, made to be left in the wound, and not notched for a thong fastening, as was customary among the Indians with their points for game. Some of these points were the sharpest and slenderest specimens of flint workmanship I have ever seen; they were more than two inches long, and less than half an inch at the shaft end, or widest part, tapered to such a fine point, that they could be used as comfortably as a pin to pick splinters out of the hand. One in particular, had three sharp equal points, which with the shaft end (for which it was notched), made a cross, or four pointed star. The spear heads were unusually sharp, and made for business, as was the case with the edges of the celts. The pottery, like all that found in the valley, was made from the river mussel-shells, coarsely pounded, and mixed with loam. A great variety was found, some of the pieces large and nearly perfect, showing the effects of use, and heat over a fire. The bone implements consisted mainly of long needles, awls, etc., for the manufacture of skins. The eye of the needle was notched to receive the thong, on the same principle as ours of to-day. Those which had been polished were as sharp and sound as when made from the small rib of the deer; but the unpolished portions of the awls had crumbled off. In the line of bone, there was also found 'wampum,' made from very small segments of the spine of some fish or reptile; and the value of each piece seemed to depend upon the amount of labor which had been bestowed upon it. There were no holes through these beads, nor arrangement for stringing them together, consequently they could not have been intended for any kind of ornament. They varied in size from a No. 8 to a No. 2 shot, but each had been carefully polished. Imbedded in the sand, in the mouth of one of the skulls, were found two pieces of thinly beaten copper, nearly three inches long, and rolled as if around an arrow shaft; they had probably been one, broken in two. This was the only metal found; and only one steatite pipe, with the stem very accurately bored and split into halves. The nearest steatite in position lies east of the Blue ridge, in Virginia, and neither this nor greenstone is found in the river silt. It is to be regretted that so little attention was directed to this find by proper official authority, as there was much to illustrate the life, habits and customs of this people. The Smithsonian Institute promised an investigation, but no further notice was taken of the subject. I am satisfied, however, that this particular cut exposed a very small part of what may be found, and that it is not yet too late for a thorough investigation.

"Upon the above brief statement of the facts, speculations must be based until further light can be obtained.

"The first question is, who built this wall, when and for what purpose? It may be safely assumed that it ante-dates any historic record or legends in our possession. The Indians found here knew of its existence, but nothing of its origin or purpose; and as far as we know, they were not a race to undertake such manual labor. The theory among the old hunters, that it was a game pen, is refuted early in an examination, since nothing but a domestic animal could be fenced by such a structure. That it could have been intended for any kind of agricultural purpose, seems equally as improbable for the same reasons, and for the further reason that the location is practically inaccessible, while the valleys below were broad and fertile. In portions of the enclosure there is a deep, rich soil; but a large part of it is a barren, rocky crest, which would certainly have been left out where the same labor might have been better employed. There remains the question of fortification, which seems equally as improbable, except so far as it might have afforded immediate protection in actual fight; but with the weapons probably in use, a tree would have answered the purpose better. Though the towers may have a warlike sound, as a matter of fact, they were in a position where they would have been of the least service in defending the wall against any outside attack, though they might have served to defend the water supply.

"It seems to me that we must look for some other object and conditions, entirely foreign to any Indian custom; and that not only the bones at the foot of this mountain, but the archæological history of the entire Kanawha valley, furnishes a clue. That the Kanawha valley has been densely populated by some prehistoric race, differing from the Indians in intelligence, manners and customs, there can be little doubt. The soil everywhere bears indisputable evidence of their numbers and handiwork, beside which the hundred years of white occupancy and monuments would sink into insignificance with a like test of time. From Kanawha Falls to Charleston, a distance of forty miles, scarcely a post hole can be dug without disclosing some evidence of this people. It has been asserted that the Aztecs, or some Arian race from Mexico, had followed up the Mississippi and Ohio to the Kanawha, and the numerous mounds found in this valley has been cited as one evidence. Such theory is plausible, as the route is a natural highway, followed later by the Spaniards and French without much loss of time. It is also natural to presume that a southern race would have settled in greater numbers along the Kanawha, than in the upper Ohio valleys. But the present question is, whether the bones found

at the mouth of Armstrong creek, without sign or monument, belong to such a race, or to the North American Indian. The physiological features are clearly against the latter assumption; and that they were sun worshipers, is demonstrated by the sameness in position of all the bodies found. The quantities of fish, and bones of large wild animals, prove that they were an active race of meat eaters, that they cooked their food in vessels of clay; and that they were bold, is certain from the large proportion of bears' tusks, some of which were enormous, and must have been ugly customers to tackle with stone weapons. If we connect these bones with the stone wall in question, it seems to me that it can be more readily accounted for in connection with some Essenic religious rite. The elevation of the mountain is such that the sun can be seen much longer than from the valley, and the position of the towers were favorable to such observation; and being near the center, they were doubtless the *sanctum sanctorum* of the enclosures, and abode of some high priest. It is more than probable that some kind of serfdom or slavery existed, whose surplus labor was directed to such monuments, probably not so much for record, as for occupation or punishment; as the wampum shows they placed some value on labor.

"A comparison of ages between the wall and bones, would certainly not place the latter ahead of the former, though the reverse might be the result; but it must be borne in mind, that under certain conditions the decomposition of bone is no index to age or time, as it is pretty well authenticated that a period of two thousand years has failed to obliterate a human skeleton, probably as much subject to oxidation as these have been. I am perfectly certain that the Armstrong bones are very ancient, but am not competent to approximate any definite time. I have heard of a similar wall on one of the Paint Creek mountains, ten miles down the river, but have never seen it. As none of our race ever occupied these mountain tops, and they have rarely been visited except by huntsmen, other evidence might easily have been overlooked; and since we have no records more ancient in connection with the human race, it is to be hoped that the subject will receive more attention in the future, than in the past."

Ten miles below this work is another and similar one, on a smaller scale. It is on a high mountain, facing the river, just above the mouth of Paint creek. The characteristics of the two works are so nearly alike that the foregoing description of the one at Loup creek, renders unnecessary any description of the one at Paint creek.

At the base of the Paint creek mountain, too, is an extensive

burying ground, similar to the one described at Loup creek. It is just where the village of Clifton now stands, and such are the numbers of remains, that excavations for any purpose, are almost sure to unearth human skeletons, with stone, bone, earthenware and copper implements and relics.

Within the village of Brownstown, ten miles above Charleston and just below the mouth of Lens creek, is another such ancient burying ground. None of these have been systematically examined, but casual excavations are constantly disclosing the remains of these ancient people and their implements. At Brownstown, not long since, two skeletons were found together, one a huge frame about seven feet in length and the other about four feet, a dwarf and deformed. None of these graves at Loup, Paint or Lens creeks are marked by mounds, stone slabs, stone piles or any other surface indications. The probability naturally suggests itself that those who buried there, and who built these stone enclosures were a different race from the mound-builders.

On a bench, or natural terrace of the mountain fronting the river below Rush creek, is a nearly straight wall connecting with nothing at either end. Possibly it was but part of some plan, left in an unfinished condition. No satisfactory explanation of, or even plausible suggestion as to the purposes and uses of these stone walls has ever been made.

Some young men while hunting on the mountain near Cannelton discovered what seemed to be the walled up entrance to a cave in the face of a cliff. Impelled by curiosity, they pried out the stones and effected an entrance to the cavity, where they found remains of human and of animal bones, flint implements, a piece of coarse woven fabric and some dried berries. The berries were in flat layers between a course of small twigs or stems below, and another course above. This is the only instance, so far as I know, of cave burial in the valley.

Some years ago I examined a stone mound about four feet high, on cemetery ridge back of this city (Charleston) and was surprised to find that very many—possibly, originally, all—of the stones were marked; for what purpose it is impossible to tell, but possibly these marks were the individual signatures, sign-mounds or totem marks of those who contributed, each a stone, to the monument of his departed friend. I have never seen or heard of similar markings in any other mound. These stones have since been carted away and used for fence building.

There have been no very recent examinations and explorations of these ancient works here. The untimely death of Col. Norris brought to an end his useful labors; and the Smithsonian Institution has sent no successor to carry forward the work he

so auspiciously begun. During his stay here his activity and efficiency were evidenced by the fact of his shipping to the Smithsonian Institution over 4,000 specimens of ancient and interesting relics.

Of the hundreds of ancient earth and stone works in the valley there are many yet to be explored, and offer a rich field for the study of the ethnologist and archæologist.



CHAPTER II.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT IN THE NEW RIVER-KANAWHA VALLEY,
AND THE FIRST THAT CROSSED THE ALLEGHENIES WESTWARD.



PARTY of adventurous gentlemen, composed of Doctor Thomas Walker, Colonel James Patton, Colonel John Buchanan, Colonel James Wood and Major Charles Campbell, accompanied by some hunters, of whom John Findley, who afterward, in 1767, penetrated into Kentucky, and, in 1769, accompanied Daniel Boone from North Carolina to Kentucky, was one, made an excursion through southwest Virginia in 1748, and were the first white persons from this direction to penetrate the then unknown region of Kentucky. Dr. Walker, the leader of the expedition, discovered the pass in the mountains, and gave the name of "Cumberland" to the mountain range and gap hitherto called by the Indians "Wasioto"; "Cumberland river" to the stream hitherto called "Shawanee," or "Pelisipi"; and "Louisa" to the river called by them "Che-no-ee," now Kentucky river. Major Jed Hotchkiss, who, has seen the MS. diary of Doctor Walker, thinks he did not get on to the Kentucky river, and that the stream he named Louisa was the one now called the Coal river, West Virginia, which heads up in the big Flat-Top mountain along which he traveled. The earliest maps that lay down Coal river — Jefferson's and others — call it Louisa.

The Cumberland mountains, gap, and river, were named after the Duke of Cumberland, and Louisa river for his wife, the Duchess of Cumberland. Walker's creeks (big and little), of New river, which were explored by Dr. Walker and party on this expedition, and Walker's mountains (big and little), parallel ranges, were named after Dr. Walker.

About this time (1748), probably immediately on the return of Walker, Patton and others — if, indeed, they did not accompany the Walker expedition as far as New river — Thomas Ingles and his three sons, Mrs. Draper and her son and daughter, Adam Harmon, Henry Lenard and James Burke, "came west to grow up with the country," and made the first settlement west of the great Allegheny "divide," the first on the waters of New river,

or Wood's river, as it was then interchangeably called, and the first on any waters flowing to the undefined, unknown, mysterious west, whither they knew not. The name given to this locality and settlement was "Draper's Meadows." The first buildings and improvements, which were built of round logs, as all frontier buildings then were, stood upon the present sites of the "Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical college," and "Solitude," the residence of the late Colonel Robert Preston, near Blacksburg, now Montgomery county, Va. Even at the present day, when all southwest Virginia is settled and highly improved, and is known to excessively abound in grand and beautiful landscape scenery, few, if any, scenes surpass this little "Draper's Meadows" valley, the original, and at that day, probably, a hap-hazard settlement, as they had not sufficiently explored the country to compare localities and make choice. Its eastern limit is near the crest of the Allegheny, here a very low "divide" between the waters of the Roanoke on the east and New or Woods river on the west; its western, the beautiful "Horse-Shoe Bend" of New river; while on the north and south, in the near distance, are parallel mountain ridges. Between is a beautiful undulating plain, with rich limestone, blue-grass soil. There are numerous bold, never-failing limestone springs, and the drainage is to New river, through Toms creek, Straubles creek and Walls creek.

At the date of this Draper's Meadows settlement (1748) the entire population of Virginia — which then extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi (or, as claimed, to the Pacific), and embraced the present states of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin — was but 82,000. All but a few hundred of these were east of the Blue ridge; these few hundred were settled in the valley of Virginia, so-called, being the territory lying between the Blue ridge and the Alleghany ranges. The settlers in this valley of Virginia were mostly Scotch-Irish families, who had stopped for a time in Pennsylvania, and found their way from there into the valley of Virginia, by way of Harper's Ferry, taking up the best lands on the waters of the Shenandoah, the James, and the Roanoke rivers.

The Ingles and Draper families, who were also Scotch-Irish, and who had also come by way of Pennsylvania, were the first to press on beyond these, then frontier settlements, scale the Allegheny, the then limit and western barrier of civilization and discovery, and pitch their tents, as above stated, in the great outside, unknown, and mysterious wilderness beyond.


The first map of this region to which I have had access, is a map of 1744, accompanying Rapin de Thoyers' history of England. This map shows pretty fair knowledge of the coast lines, but wild guesses, based upon small information about the country

beyond the mountains. The Tennessee river called Hogoheegee, empties in the Wabash or "Ouback." The head waters of the Hogoheegee are left blank — cut square off. The Cumberland, called Pelisipi, empties into the Hogoheegee. The Ohio or "Hohio," empties into the Ouback or Wabash on the north, and the Ouback unites with the Potomac in a lake common to both, lying south of Lake Erie, and from which they flow their respective ways east and west. The Allegheny mountain is laid down with a fair degree of accuracy as to location and direction. The next map of this part of Virginia was made by Peter Fontaine, surveyor of Halifax county, at the request of the governor of Virginia, in 1752. In this map the Allegheny mountain is put down as "Mississippi or Allegheny ridge." New river is put down as "New Riv., a branch of Mississippi Riv.," and all the region west of the Allegheny is left blank, and called "a mountainous tract of land west of the Blue ridge," "Augusta county," "parts unknown."

CHAPTER III.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

INGLES-DRAPER SETTLEMENT—FIRST INDIAN BLOOD SPILLED—
 CUPID'S WORK IN THE WILDERNESS—FIRST WHITE WEDDING
 WEST OF THE ALLEGHENIES—BLOODY ENCOUNTER AND MURDER
 OF WHITES—CARRIED INTO CAPTIVITY—BABE BORN ON THE ROUTE
 —STORY OF MRS. INGLES' HARDSHIPS—FIRST SALT MADE BY HER
 IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY.



FEW facts and dates have been preserved in relation to the Ingles-Draper frontier settlement, owing, in great measure, to the fact above stated, and but few records were written in those days, owing to disinclination and the disadvantages under which they labored, and to the additional fact that, a few years later, their houses were burned, and all books, papers, and documents of every sort were destroyed, every collateral fact that helps to fix dates, or throws other light upon the subject becomes of interest. Such are the following, of which there is record evidence:

In April, 1749, the house of Adam Harmon, one of the party, was raided by the Indians, and his furs and skins stolen. This was the first Indian depredation ever committed on the whites west of the Allegheny. The theft was reported by Henry Lenard to William Harbison, a justice of the peace for Augusta county. The names of Adam Harmon and Henry Lenard will appear again farther on. In 1751 an allowance was made by the state to Colonel Patton for moving a party of Indians from Williamsburg, the then capital, to Reed creek, in Augusta county. Reed creek empties into New river a few miles above Ingles ferry. In 1753 the Indians stole the skins of George Hoopaugh and Jacob Harmon, killed their dogs and shot their "critters." In 1758 the state sent Capt. Robert Wade from "Fort Mayo," with thirty-five rangers, to this settlement to "Range for enemy Indians." They came by Goblintown, by Black water, Pigg river, and Smith's river, branches of the Dan, and crossed over to the head of Little river, through "Wood's Gap," and down Little river to New river. Probably just the route of Col. Abraham Wood and Capt. Henry Batte many years before. Thence they passed down as far as Draper's

Meadows and back up to Reed Island Creek. They fell in with a party of five Indians and one white man, the latter named Dunkleberry. They let the white man escape, but followed and killed the Indians. This was the first organized pursuit of Indians west of the mountains. The result of the expedition was reported by Capt. John Echols, and sworn to before Abraham Maury, a justice of the peace for Augusta county.

Another adventurous hunter and pioneer had quietly made his appearance in this Draper's Meadows camp. It was the chubby and rosy-cheeked little god of the bow and arrow. He had evidently counted on finding fair and proper game here, and he had not mistaken his reckoning. William Ingles and Mary Draper had fallen victims to his skillful archery. They had surrendered at discretion, and, early in 1750, they were bound by the silken cords, he being then twenty-one and she eighteen years of age. This was the first white wedding west of the Alleghenies. Their rose-colored hopes and anticipations of the future, and their youthful dreams of happiness, were not all to be realized, as will soon appear. Mary Draper, having no sister, had spent much of her time in her girlhood days with her only brother, in his outdoor avocations and sports. They played together, walked together, rode together. She could jump a fence or ditch as readily as he; she could stand and jump straight up nearly as high as her head; could stand on the ground, beside her horse, and leap into the saddle unaided; could stand on the floor and jump over a chair-back, etc., etc. It will soon be seen how invaluable to her such physical training was a few years later. In the long after-years she used to delight in telling over to her grandchildren of her feats of agility in her youthful days.

In 1754, John Draper, finding it not good to be alone, had prevailed upon Miss Bettie Robertson to join him in the search for happiness in this wild wilderness home. Notwithstanding the isolation of the Draper's Meadows settlement, and its remoteness from civilization and society, the settlers were reasonably happy, prosperous and contented. They were busy clearing out and improving their lands, adding to their herds of stock, building houses, and increasing their comforts. Others, influenced by their favorable reports, were coming in and settling near them, and they were laying, as they hoped and believed, the foundations of a growing and prosperous community.

Several times parties of Indians, from north of the Ohio, had passed and repassed this settlement to make raids upon the Catawbias, their enemies, living farther south; but they had made no attack upon the white settlers, nor given them any annoyance or cause for alarm, except the thieving raids to Harmon's and Hoopaugh's above noted. The friendliest relations had existed between the whites and the redskins up to this time, but this

happy condition of things was not long to last; indeed, the Indians may already have meditated or determined upon mischief, but disguised their designs by a show of friendship until they had made full observations and matured their plans. On the 8th of July, 1755, being Sunday, and the day before Braddock's memorable defeat, near Fort Du Quesne, when all was peace, and there was no suspicion of harm or danger, a party of Shawnees, from beyond the Ohio, fell upon the Draper's Meadow settlement and killed, wounded, or captured every soul there present, as follows: Col. James Patton, Mrs. George Draper, Casper Barrier and a child of John Draper, killed; Mrs. John Draper, James Cull, wounded; Mrs. William Ingles, Mrs. John Draper, Henry Lenard, prisoners. Mrs. John Draper, being out of doors, a short distance from the house, first discovered the enemy approaching, and under circumstances indicating hostile intent. She ran into the house to give the alarm and to get her sleeping infant. Taking the child in her arms she ran out on the opposite side of the house and tried to make her escape. The Indians discovered her, however, and fired on her as she ran, breaking her right arm, and causing the child to fall. She hastily picked it up again with her left hand, and continued her flight. She was soon overtaken, however, and made a prisoner, and the child brained against the end of one of the house logs. The other Indians, meanwhile, were devoting their attention to other members of the families and camp, with the results in killed, wounded and captured, as above stated. Col. James Patton, who had large landed interests hereabout, was here at this time, and with him his nephew, William Preston. Whether Col. Patton was only temporarily here, or was then making this his home, I do not know. He had command of the Virginia militia in this region, and had just brought up a supply of powder and lead for use of the settlements, which, I believe, the Indians secured. Early on the morning of the attack, Col. Patton had sent young Preston over to the house of Mr. Philip Lybrook, on Sinking creek, to get him to come over and help next day with the harvest, which was ready to be cut, and this fortunate absence doubtless saved young Preston's life. Col. Patton was sitting at a table writing when the attack was made, with his broadsword, which he always kept with him, lying on the table before him. He was a man of large frame (he was six feet four inches in height), and herculean strength. He cut down two of the Indians with his sword as they rushed upon him, but was, in turn, shot down himself by others out of his reach. He was a widower, sixty-three years of age, and full of health and vigor when he met his untimely death.

Having everything in their power after the massacre and capture, the Indians secured all the guns and ammunition on the premises, all the horses, and such household articles as they could

carry away. After loading up their stolen plunder, and putting the women and children on the horses, ready for moving, they set fire to the buildings and consumed everything left.

About half a mile or a mile to the west, on their route, they stopped at the house of Mr. Philip Barger, an old white haired man, cut his head off, put it in a bag, and took it with them to the house of Philip Lybrook, of Sinking creek, where they left it, telling Mrs. Lybrook to look in the bag and she would find an acquaintance. Lybrook and Preston would, probably, have shared the same fate as Barger, if they had been found at Lybrook's house, but they had started back to Draper's Meadows on foot, by a near pathway across the mountain, and thus missed meeting the Indians and saved their lives. In 1774, nineteen years later, the family of John Lybrook, son of Philip, was attacked by a party of Indians. John Lybrook himself succeeded in eluding them, by secreting himself in a cave in the cliffs—five of his children were murdered. About the same time, Margaret McKenzie and three Snidow boys were captured in the neighborhood, two of them, Jacob and William, soon escaped and returned, but John, a small boy, was taken on to the Indian towns. He was recovered by some of his family after some years of captivity, during which he had almost forgotten his mother tongue, and meanwhile had acquired so strong a taste for the wild, Indian life, that he returned to the Indians and spent his life with them. Margaret McKenzie was recovered after eighteen years of captivity, returned to Giles county, married a Mr. Benjamin Hall, and lived to a very old age, dying about 1850. The general course of retreat of the Indians with prisoners and spoils of the Draper's Meadows massacre, was down New river. It is presumed that the Indians knew and traveled the ridge roads and creek routes for much of the distance, where the river route was impracticable for pack-horses.

Terrible as were these experiences generally, they were especially painful and trying to Mrs. Ingles, who was nearly approaching a period of maternity. Neither this, in her case, however, nor a shattered arm in the case of Mrs. Draper, were allowed to stand in the way of their making the trip. They were permitted to ride the horses, carrying the children, and make themselves as comfortable as the circumstances allowed, but go they must, whatever the pain and suffering to them. It was very fortunate for each that the other was along, and their companionship was not only a comfort and solace to each other in their trying situations, but they rendered most important services to each other as nurses, as occasion required. On the night of the third day out, the course of nature, which waits not upon conveniences nor surroundings, was fulfilled, and Mrs. Ingles, far from human habitation, in the wide forest, unbounded by walls, with only the

bosom of mother earth for a couch, and covered by the green trees and the blue canopy of heaven, with a curtain of black darkness around her, gave birth to an infant daughter. Ordinarily, such an occurrence would have been equivalent to a death warrent to the mother and child, for if they had not both died, under the stress of circumstances, the Indians would have tomahawked them, to avoid the trouble and the necessary delay of their journey; but Mrs. Ingles was an extraordinary woman, and equal to any emergency. Owing to her perfect physical constitution, health and training, she seems to have passed through her trouble with almost as little suffering and loss of time as one of the wild Indian squaws themselves. She was next morning able to travel, and did resume the journey, carrying the little stranger in her arms on horseback. One strong reason—probably the controlling one, with the Indians—why Mrs. Ingles and infant were not tomahawked, was that they counted upon getting a handsome sum for the ransom of herself and her children. It was not tender humanity, but cold business calculation that prevailed, and induced them to put up with the small additional trouble and delay for the hope of future gain.

The particulars of the eventful history of this ill-fated babe are from a short sketch of Mrs. Ingles' captivity, together with facts relating to the early settlements of the Pattons and Prestons, written by Mrs. Governor John Floyd, half a century ago. Mrs. Floyd was a Preston, born and reared at Smithfield, so that she and Mrs. Ingles were near neighbors, and it is probable she received the facts related, from Mrs. Ingles direct. About forty miles down, as Mrs. Ingles afterward estimated, the party crossed from the east to the west side of the river; this must have been at or about the mouth of Indian creek; as this creek was then, and afterwards, known to be in the line of the Indian trail, and there is here a practicable ford across New river. At this point, in 1764, Captain Paul, from Fort Dinwiddie, attacked a party of returning Indians whom he was pursuing; killed several, stampeded the rest, and recovered some prisoners, among whom was Mrs. Catharine Gunn, a neighbor and friend of his. From the mouth of Indian creek the Draper's Meadows party came down the river, on the west side, to the mouth of Bluestone river, when they left New river, going up Bluestone a short distance, thence crossing over Flat-Top mountain, and probably following very much the route of the present Giles, Raleigh and Fayette turnpike, to about the head of Paint creek, and thence down Paint creek to Kanawha river. At some point a short distance below the mouth of Paint creek, probably at Cabin creek, or Witcher's creek shoals, where, in low water, the river was shallow enough to ford or wade, they again crossed over to the northeast side of Kan-

awha river, and upon reaching the salt spring, just above the mouth of Campbell's creek, then well-known to the Indians, they stopped and rested, and feasted themselves on the abundance of fat game they killed, as it came to the "Licks" for salt. Some of the prisoners were treated very roughly on the route down, and suffered very much; but Mrs. Ingles, owing to her delicate condition, and to her having policy and tact enough to simulate a reasonable amount of cheerfulness and contentment under all her trials, and to make herself useful in many ways, was treated with more leniency and respectful consideration than any of the others. She was permitted to ride and to carry her children. It was made one of her duties, when well enough, as it was also her pleasure, to attend to and aid her wounded sister-in-law, Mrs. Bettie Draper. The Indians instructed her to bathe and poultice the broken arm with the steeped leaves of the wild comphry plant, and to dress the wounds with a salve made from the comphry plant and deer fat. In searching for this plant in the woods, Mrs. Ingles says she sometimes wandered off some distance from the camps, and felt strongly tempted to try to make her escape; but the thought of leaving her helpless children restrained her. She determined to share their fate, hoping that, by some good fortune, deliverance might come to them all, and that they should be saved together.

While the Indians hunted, rested and feasted themselves at the salt spring, they put their prisoners to boiling brine and making a supply of salt to take with them to their homes beyond the Ohio. Mrs. Ingles took part in this salt making, boiling salt water in some of her own pots and kettles, that had been brought along on the pack-horses, and she, together with the other prisoners, were undoubtedly the first white persons who ever made salt, not only in this valley, but anywhere else west of the Alleghenies. After several days of resting, feasting, and salt-making, the party again loaded up their pack-horses and resumed their onward march down the Kanawha and down the Ohio to the capital town of the Shawanees, at the mouth of the Sonhioto, or Scioto river, which they reached just one month after leaving the scene of the massacre and capture at Draper's Meadows. Soon after their arrival at the Indian town there was a general gathering of old and young to welcome back the raiding party, to congratulate them on their success, to learn the extent of their good fortune, and to celebrate the event by a general jollification. The prisoners, according to custom, were required to "run the gauntlet," except Mrs. Ingles, whom, on account of her condition, they excused. Mrs. Draper, notwithstanding her lame arm, not yet recovered, was subjected to this painful ordeal, with much suffering. It was a great comfort to

Mrs. Ingles, amidst all the distressing circumstances with which she was surrounded, that her children were left in her own charge, and that she could, in some degree, care for them and promote their comfort. This, however, proved of but short duration. It was but a few days until there was a meeting of the Indians who had made the last raids, to divide out the spoils. The prisoners were all separated, as was the custom, and allotted to different owners, and not again allowed to see or communicate with each other. It was an agonizing experience to Mrs. Ingles to have her young and helpless children, excepting, of course, the infant, torn from her and from each other, but the Indians and the fates had so decreed, and she had to submit with what grace she could. Shortly after this division of prisoners, some French traders came into the Indian town for the purpose of trading and bartering with the Indians. They had, among other things, a stock of check shirting, and as check shirts were in great demand among the Indians, and Mrs. Ingles a good sewer, she was put to making check shirts. Her proficiency in this line so increased her value and importance to them that she was treated with unusual leniency and consideration. When a shirt would be finished and delivered to its owner, the buck would stick it on the end of a pole, and run through the town exhibiting it, and singing the praises of the "heap good white squaw." The French traders seeing their interest in encouraging the shirt trade, were very kind to Mrs. Ingles, who was so important a factor in the business, and induced the Indians to pay her liberally for the sewing. This, fortunately, enabled her to supplement her own scanty wardrobe, a matter very essential to her personal comfort. After this trading and shirt making had continued for two or three weeks, a party of Indians with these Frenchmen was made up to go to the "Big Bone lick" to make salt. Mrs. Ingles and some other prisoners, among them a Dutch woman, but none of her party or acquaintances, were taken along.

This Big Bone lick is about 150 miles below Scioto, and about three and a half miles by the creek, from the Ohio river, on Big Bone creek, in (now) Boone county, Ky. Some of the largest mastodon bones ever discovered, and the largest number ever found together, strewed the ground here, or were partially buried beneath the surface. The lick seems to have been a swampy morass, some eight or ten acres in area, with the sulphosaline waters oozing up through it, and when the huge animals waded in to get the coveted mineral water, many mired, and being unable to extricate themselves, so perished, with their legs imbedded in the mud, and their bodies resting on the surface. Col. Thomas Bullitt and other early explorers and surveying parties here, in after years used the immense ribs and tusks for

tent poles, and the skulls and vertebra for stools and benches. These huge bones, tusks and teeth, have been taken from here in large numbers, to enrich many museums both in this country and in Europe. Many of the tusks were eight or ten feet long. Here Mrs. Ingles again assisted in making salt, thus being the first white person to make salt west of Kanawha, as she had been the first there, and while the first *person* in the Kanawha valley, she was the first white *woman*, so far as I know, who ever saw the Kanawha or New river, and the first white woman ever within the bounds of Ohio, Indiana or Kentucky, all then, however, still parts of Virginia. While at the Big Bone lick, Mrs. Ingles, to escape the ills she suffered, and to fly from others, threatened or feared, formed the desperate resolve to make her escape, and, if possible, find her way home. A more hopeless undertaking, apparently, she could not have conceived, but her condition was so distressing that even death was preferable, and she determined that, come what would, she would make the attempt. She confided her secret to the elderly Dutch woman above mentioned, who had been captured in western Pennsylvania, somewhere in the region of Fort Du Quesne, and who was the only other white female in the camp. She at first discouraged the scheme, and tried to dissuade Mrs. Ingles from throwing her life away on so mad and desperate a venture. Mrs. Ingles was not to be shaken in her resolution, but the Dutch woman, dreading to be left alone with the savages in the wilderness, and dreaming, with freshly stimulated hope, of the comforts and joys of home, listened with more and more favor to the earnest appeals of Mrs. Ingles, and finally was completely won over to the desperate scheme, and determined to accompany her. They had been in the habit of going out daily from camp at the lick, ostensibly to hunt wild grapes, walnuts, hickory nuts, etc., which they would take back and distribute among the Indians, but the more important matter to them was to discuss the question and the ways and means of escape. When the Dutch woman gave in her adhesion to the scheme, they stood not upon the order of their going, but prepared to start at once. There was little preparation for the women to make: they could make but little without exciting suspicion. They had each secreted a blanket for the trip, but took no clothes except what they wore, which were scanty enough. They each started with a tomahawk. Mrs. Ingles says she exchanged hers for a sharper one, just before starting from the camp, with a Frenchman, who was sitting cracking walnuts with his on one of the mammoth bones, since so noted. Mrs. Ingles had been tried as few women are, but now the supreme moment of her life was upon her. To try to escape, she had determined; but what was to be done with her child? She well knew that if


she attempted to take it with her, its cries would betray them both to recapture and death. And, even if she should possibly escape recapture, she knew too well what she would have to encounter and endure to suppose, for a moment, that it was possible to carry the infant and succeed in her effort. Clearly there was but one thing to do under the circumstances, and that was to abandon the unhappy little sufferer to its hard fate. Who can conceive of the agony of a young mother compelled to decide such a question, and to act, with such alternatives before her? But Mrs. Ingles was a woman of no ordinary nerve. She did decide and act, and who will say that she did not decide wisely? Certainly, in the light of subsequent events, her decision and action were wise and fortunate. She nestled the dear little babe as cosily as she could in a little bark cradle, gave it her last parting kisses and baptism of tears, tore herself away, and was gone, never to see it again in this world, and knowing, or having every reason to believe, that it would be murdered as soon as it was known that she was gone.

It is an interesting fact, as shown by census reports, that this Big Bone lick, then in an unknown and seemingly interminable wilderness, was at the last census (1880) almost exactly the center of population of the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

NAMES OF RIVERS IN THE OHIO VALLEY — INDIAN TITLES — THEIR BEAUTY AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTER — WEARY JOURNEY OF TWO ESCAPED WOMEN — UP THE OHIO AND KANAWHA ON FOOT — NOTABLE HISTORIC SPOTS AND EVENTS — THE BURNING SPRING — FIRST NATURAL GAS IN THE VALLEY — FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY.



THE history, names and signification of the rivers up which these fugitive women were to travel, as guides to their distant homes, may be of interest here. First mention of the river now called Ohio is found in an old map of 1672, attributed to the French explorer, La Salle. In this the Iroquois name is given as "Oligen-Sipen," "the beautiful river." A map of 1687 calls it "Dono," or "Albacha." A Dutch map of 1708 calls it "Cubach." A map of 1710 calls it "O-o," and makes the Ohio and Wabash or Oubache one river. In 1711 it is called "Ochio." In 1719 it is called "Saboquingo." The Miamis called it Causisseppione. The Delawares, Kitono-cepe, and others Alliwegi-Sipe. The Wyandottes called it "Oheezuh," "the grand or beautiful." On the map accompanying Rapin De Thoyers' history of England (1744), it is called Hohio, and empties into the Wabash, or "Ouback," on the north side. In some of the early treaties of the Pennsylvanians with the Iroquois, they got the spelling "Oheeo," probably intended to represent the same sound as the "Oheezuh" above; this Oheeo became changed in accent, about 1744, by the Virginians, to "Ohio," or "Hohio," as on the above mentioned map. When, in 1749, the French called the "O-y-o" or "Ohio," "La Belle Riviere," they were not giving it a new name, but merely rendering into French the numerous Indian designations, most of which were equivalents, and meant "the beautiful river." With the later French, as with the Indians, the name included the Allegheny, or Al-le-ge-ning (the impression of feet), which was considered the extension of the main stream, and the Monongahela only a tributary. In addition to all these names, the Ohio, during its early Indian history, was often called the "River of Blood," from their own bloody encounters along its shores. The present Big Miami was called Mi-ah-me-zah by some of the Indian tribes; Os-we-ne, by the Delawares; La

Roque, by the French, meaning the river of rocks, or stony river. Licking river was named from the big buffalo licks on its banks, now the celebrated Blue Lick springs of Kentucky. The Little Miami was called by the Delawares Pio-quo-nee, or High Bank river. The Scioto was called by different tribes Son-hi-o-to, Si-o-tha, Si-o-to-cepe, etc., its signification was said to be "the unknown." The Big Sandy gets its name from the prevalence of sand bars in its bed. It has also been called Tatteroi, Chatteroi, and Chatterawha; but I do not know the signification of this variously spelled term; they may, like some others, all mean one thing — the river of sand bars, or Sandy river. The Miamis called it We-pe-po-co-ne-ce-pe-we. The Delawares called it Si-ke-a-ce-pe, Salt river. And Little Sandy was called Tan-ga-te Si-ke-a-ce-pe-wa, or Little Salt river. One of the upper forks of Big Sandy was named Tug river by some of Gen. (then Major) Andrew Lewis' soldiers returning from the Big Sandy expedition of 1756, when they became so straightened for food that they had to boil and eat their rawhide buffalo thongs and tugs to keep from starving. The La Visee, or Levisa, fork, as commonly called, or Louisa, as sometimes erroneously called, is said to mean the picture, design, or representation. It was so called by an early French explorer in the region, from Indian pictures or signs, painted on trees, near the head of the stream. The Guyandotte river is said to have been named after a tribe of that name. The Miamis called it La-ke-we-ke-ton Ce-pe-wa. The Delawares called it Se-co-nee, narrow bottom river. The locality of Point Pleasant was called, by the Wyandottes, Tu-edna-wie, the junction of the rivers. The present site of Pittsburg, Washington says, was called De-un-da-ga the forks of the river. The Great Kanawha river was called by the Miamis Pi-que-me-ta-mi; by the Delawares, Ken-in-she-ka-cepe, white stone river. The Little Kanawha was called by the Delawares, O-nom-go-how-cepe. The first name given the Great Kanawha from this end, by the whites, so far as I know, was by a French engineer party, under Capt. De Celeron, who, on the 18th of August, 1749, planted an engraved leaden plate at the mouth, giving the river the name of Chi-no-da-che-tha, and claiming for the French crown all the territory drained by its waters. This complicated name is probably Indian, not French; but what its signification is or was, I do not know. This leaden plate was unearthed in 1846, by a little nephew of Col. John Beale, then a resident at the point, and in 1849, just 100 years after the French had planted it, James M. Laidley, Esq., then a member of the legislature of Virginia, from Kanawha, took it to Richmond, and with appropriate remarks, submitted it to the Virginia Historical Society, where, I believe, a copy of it is still

pre-served, but he was required to return the original to the finder, who was afterward cheated out of it by the fair and false promises of some itinerant sharper—a duplicate copy of the original plate and inscription is preserved among the French National Archives in Paris. Christopher Gist, agent of the "Ohio Land Company," passed down opposite the mouth of Kanawha, on the Ohio side in 1751. The name of Kanawha was not given to the river until between 1760 and 1770. The name is commonly supposed and stated to signify, in the Indian tongue, "river of the woods"; but this, I think, is clearly a mistake. The stream had been discovered as a *New* river, at the other end, by Col. Abraham Wood, long before, as herein above described, and named after him, "Wood's river"—so when the name Kanawha was given to it, it applied to a river that already had a name, which then became an alias, and thus it was called "Kanawha or Wood's river," and *not* "Kanawha, the river of the Woods."

The name Kanawha was probably derived by evolution from the name of a tribe of Indians (a branch of the Nanticokes), who dwelt along the Potomac and westward, to New river. They were variously called, or spelled by different authors, at different times, Conoys, Conoise, Canawese, Cohnawas, Canaways and Kanawhas. The spelling of the name has been very various, in addition to the ways mentioned above, including nearly all practicable methods commencing with C or K. Wyman's map of the British Empire, in 1770, calls it "the Great Conoway, or Wood's river." The act of legislature of 1789 forming the county spelled it Kenhawa. In an original report of survey made by Daniel Boone at the mouth of the river, in 1791, and now in the writer's possession, he spells it "Conhawway"—the accepted spelling now is "Kanawha," probably never to be changed again. On some of the old maps the river is called "New river," or "Wood's river" from its source to its mouth; on others it is Kanawha from its mouth to its source. Later it was called "New, or Wood's river," from its source to the mouth of Greenbriar, and Kanawha thence to its mouth; still later, and at present, it is Kanawha from its mouth to the mouth of Gauley, and New river from that up, the name of Wood's river having become obsolete. The legislatures of Virginia and West Virginia ought to, by joint action, abolish the name of New river, and give one name to the whole stream from source to mouth, and that name should be Kanawha. "Pocatalico," it is said, signifies, in the Indian tongue, "the river of fat doe." "Cole river," as then spelled (the Louisa of the early maps), was named in 1756, by Samuel Cole, who with some others of the returning "Big Sandy expedition" (Gen., then Major Andrew Lewis among them), got over on to, and fol-

lowed up this river; their names were cut on a beech tree near the junction of Marsh and Clearforks, and remained legible until the tree was cut down by some vandal, a few years since, to clear his land. Since the discovery of mineral coal along the river in such vast quantities, the spelling of the name has gradually become changed to c-o-a-l. The Miamis called it Wa-len-de-co-ni-cepe, the Delawares called it Wal-hon-de-cepe, or Hill creek. On probably the earliest map that laid down Coal river at all—that used at the treaty of peace in 1783—and also on the map illustrating Jefferson's notes of Virginia, it was called Louisa, probably so named by Dr. Walker, as elsewhere stated. Elk river was called by some of the tribes Tiskelwah, or river of fat elk. By the Miamis it was called Pe-quo-ni-cepe; by the Delawares To-que-min-cepe, or Walnut river. Paint creek was called by the Miamis Mos-coos-cepe, and by the Delawares Ot-to-we-cepe, or Deer creek. The present name of Paint creek comes from painted trees, blazed and stained with red ochrous earth, by the Indians, to mark their early trail. It is also said that at a point of crossing of trails, near the head of the creek, returning raiding parties used to record on the trees, in this red paint, the number of scalps taken, and other important events in characters understood by them. Gauley river was called by the Miamis Chin-que-ta-na-cepe-we; and by the Delawares To-ke-bel-lo-ke, or Falling creek. How the stream got the name of Gauley, or what it signifies, is not known. The earliest spelling of the name, that in Henning Statutes, was Gawly. In the treaty map of 1783, and also Jefferson's map, the river is not even laid down. Greenbrier river, according to Col. John Lewis Payton, was named by Col. John Lewis, in 1751. He with his son (afterward Gen Andrew Lewis), were surveying lands along the river, and were very much scratched and annoyed by the greenbriers. John Lewis told his son to note the name of the stream, on his surveys, as Greenbrier river, which was done, and from the river the county was named. The Miamis' name of the river was We-o-to-we-cepe-we. The Delawares called it O-ne-pa-ke-cepe. Blue Stone river was named by the whites from the deep blue valley limestone over which it flows. Its Miami name was Mee-ce-ne-ke-ke-ce-pe-we. The Delawares called it Mo-mon-ga-sen-eka-ce-pe, or Big Stone creek. East river was named by the whites from the direction of its flow. Its Miami name was Nat-weo-ce-pe-we. Its Delaware name Ta-le-mo-to-ny-ce-pe. Wolf creek was so named from the many wolves trapped or killed on it by the early settlers. Walker's creek, as hereinbefore stated, was named after Dr. Walker. Many of the foregoing river names are from a list of Indian names and equivalents, compiled by Col. William Preston, of the Draper's Meadows-Smithfield set-

tlements. The suffix of *ce-pe* or *ce-pe-we* to these various names, means, in the Indian tongue, *water* or *river*.

But to return to the fugitive women and their daring, desperate, and apparently hopeless undertaking. There were hundreds of miles of wilderness before them. The savage Indians and wild animals would alike seek their blood. Pursuit, exposure, privation, and, possibly, starvation were staring them in the face, but they flinched not; they had determined to start, and start they did. Against all these tremendous odds, it looked like flying in the face of providence and the fates that they trusted to help them through, but hope led on, and despair lay behind; they followed the one and fled from the other. They had not gotten far from the camp at Big Bone lick before the sun went down and the shades of night gathered around them. They selected an obscure place, raked some leaves into it for a bed, and, with the aid of their blankets, got such rest and sleep as they could; but there was not, as may be supposed, much sleep for them that night. When they failed to return to camp at or later than the usual time, the Indians became uneasy, thinking they had strayed too far and lost their way, or else had been killed by wild beasts. Some of the Indians went some distance in the direction they had started, but which course they had reversed as soon as out of sight, and fired guns to attract their attention if they should be lost. They gave up the search that night, however, and did not renew it the next day. Their conclusion was that the women had been destroyed by wild beasts, and gave themselves no further concern about them. They did not at all suspect that the women had attempted an escape. These facts were learned by William Ingles, from the Indians, many years after, at an Indian treaty, or conference, held at Point Pleasant not long after the battle of the Point, when they (the Indians) learned for the first time what had become of the missing women so long before. The next morning, not having the trouble of making their toilets, nor cooking nor eating their breakfasts, they made an early start, from a point near the mouth of Big Bone creek, fifteen miles below the mouth of the Big Miami, which De Celeron had called "La Roque," and about forty miles below the present site of Cincinnati. They kept the Ohio river in view, and tramped and toiled their weary way up its course, cheered by the knowledge that every mile they made took them one mile nearer their far, oh! how far-off homes! Without any special misadventure, after days and days of toil, and nights of uneasy rest, having passed Licking river, the sites of the present cities of Covington and Newport, and of the proud city of Cincinnati, just opposite, first called Losantiville; all then an untrodden wilderness. This is a curious patchwork name invented by the cranky pedagogue and historian, John Filson, as a

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suitable name for the town when first started. L is for Licking; os the mouth; anti, opposite; and ville, the village; all meaning (L-os-anti-ville) the village or town opposite the mouth of Licking. Having passed the sites of Foster, Augusta, Maysville, first called Limestone, Concord, Vanceburg, etc., they at last reached the point opposite, or nearly opposite the Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto. The main Shawnee town in those days was not above the mouth, where Portsmouth now stands, but a short distance below. This was their chief or capital town. Their council house, built of logs, was ninety feet long and covered with bark. A few years later (1763 to 1765) a very extreme, if not unprecedented flood in the rivers swept off the greater part of the town, and it was never rebuilt at that place; but the tribe moved their head-quarters to the upper Little Miami, and up the Scioto, and built up successively, the old and the new Chillicothe, or Che-le-co-the, towns. There remained a Shawnee village at the mouth of Scioto, which was then built upon the upper side, the present site of the city of Portsmouth. During the existence of the main Indian town just below the mouth of the Scioto, there was another prominent settlement at the mouth of a creek about four miles above the mouth of Kanawha. This town was also abandoned about the same time as the Scioto town; whether from the same cause, or for what reason, is not now known. The creek, at the mouth of which the town stood, is still known as "Old Town creek." When Mrs. Ingles and her companion reached the point opposite the Scioto Shawnee town, they were weary and worn, and almost famished with hunger. They had subsisted, thus far, on walnuts, hickorynuts, grapes, and paw-paws; here they found a corn-patch and an isolated, untenanted cabin. As it was about dark when they reached it, they slept in the cabin—seeing no sign of any one about it—and enjoyed a hearty supper and breakfast of corn. Some nineteen years later Col. John Floyd (father of the afterward Gov. John Floyd, of Virginia, and grandfather of Gov. John B. Floyd), then deputy surveyor under Col. William Preston, of Draper's Meadows, or Smithford, father of the afterward Gov. James Preston, of Virginia, accompanied by Hancock Taylor, uncle of Pres. Zachary Taylor, located and surveyed for Patrick Henry, afterward governor of Virginia, 200 acres of land at this place, binding one and an eighth miles on the river, covering the site of this cabin, corn-patch, and Indian settlement opposite the late site of the main town across the river. Next morning the women discovered an old horse, with a tinkling bell on its neck, grazing about, loose. They "appropriated" this horse, muffled the bell clapper with leaves and rags to prevent its sounding, gathered what corn they could manage to carry, and getting away from the neighborhood of the settlement as

quietly and quickly as they could, resumed their onward movement. They could plainly see the town and Indians on the opposite side, but managed to keep themselves unseen. The horse was a most valuable acquisition, and a great comfort to them. Sometimes they rode him on the "ride and lead" plan, alternating, and sometimes both would have to walk and lead, depending upon the nature of the ground and route, whether rough, smooth, etc. This day they had a great fright and narrow escape. A party of Indian hunters passed very near them, but they secreted themselves and horse as best they could among the underbrush, to avoid being seen, and waited until the hunters passed out of range, when they again moved on. After several days of travel, having passed the sites of the future towns of Greenup, River-ton, Ashland and Catlettsburg, they reached a stream (the Big Sandy), which they were unable to cross near its mouth, and they traveled up it a long distance before they could cross. At length they came to a lodgement of driftwood, extending clear across the stream. They tried it and found it would bear their weight, but what would be done with the horse? Mrs. Ingles doubted whether he could be gotten over on the drift, but the Dutch woman insisted that he could, and in this case she prevailed, at least to make the effort. They were already a long way up the stream; they did not know how much farther they might have to go before they could ford or wade it, they thought they might get the horse over (the wish being, no doubt, parent to the thought), and they tried it. They had gotten but a short distance from the shore, however, when his legs slipped down through the drift, and there he stood, with his feet hanging down in the water, and his body resting on the logs above, unable to extricate himself.

It was a sad case. The loss of the horse was most serious, and in their feeble, footsore, and famished condition, might be fatal to them. They were touched with pity to have to leave the poor creature in this sorry and helpless plight; but there was no help for it. There was no choice but to abandon him to his hapless fate and try to save themselves. They each took a little corn from what was left of their scanty stock, and the old woman, who seems to have had a very practical and provident turn of mind, took the bell off the horse, and carried it through all the after troubles and trials of the journey. This point of crossing of the river was probably about the forks, and near the site of the present town of Louisa, where fifteen years later, according to Collins, Col. George Washington located, for John Fry, 2,084 acre of land, the first survey ever made in Kentucky. The first settlement made on the Big Sandy was by Charles Vancouver, at this point in 1789, but the settlement was soon after broken up by the Indians. They now started down the upper or east side of Big Sandy, and retraced, with weary steps, the distance to the

Ohio again, and thence up it, sometimes along the river bank, and sometimes along the ridges, with the river in sight. As they did with the Big Sandy, so they had to do with every stream they came to, from first to last. When they could not wade the stream at the mouth, they had to go up it till they could, and many of the streams required days and days of weary travel up to a point of practicable crossing, and back again to the main stream, their only guide, thus increasing very greatly the distance traveled, perhaps nearly doubling a direct river line. Fortunately for them, it was at a season of the year when the waters were comparatively low, or this difficulty, serious as it now was, would have been insurmountable. Frequently, in going up or down these side streams, they could see that the stream made a large bend, and, to save distance, they would go across the ridge, having to pull themselves up the steep hills by the bushes and sods, until they reached the top, when, from fatigue and exhaustion, they would more slide than walk down, bruising and scratching themselves severely as they went. Since the loss of the horse, the old woman had become greatly disheartened and discouraged. She became very ill-natured to Mrs. Ingles, blaming her for having persuaded her to leave the Indians, to starve and perish in the wilderness. In her desperation she threatened to kill Mrs. Ingles, and even attempted violence. The old woman was, physically larger and stronger than Mrs. Ingles, but the latter was younger and more active, and managed to keep out of reach, though both were so exhausted from hunger and fatigue that they could little more than walk. By gentleness, kind talk, and delicate little attentions to the old woman, Mrs. Ingles succeeded, at length, in getting her pacified, and to some extent reconciled, and on they trudged together again. The weather was getting cold, and they suffered greatly from exposure. They had long since worn out their shoes or moccasins, and their clothes were worn and torn to shreds and rags by the bushes, briars, etc. At nights they slept under shelving rocks or in hollow logs, on leaves, moss, or such stuff as they could rake together. When they failed to find nuts and berries enough to sustain them, they were often driven by hunger to pull up small shrubs or plants, and chew such as had tender bark on their roots, without the slightest idea of what they were, or what their effects might be; the cravings of hunger must be appeased by whatever they could chew and swallow. On one occasion they found on the drift, in some stream, a deer's head, probably cut off and thrown away by the Indians. This they made a meal of, though it was considerably advanced in decomposition, and strong and odorous. They protected their feet, as best they could, by wrapping them with strips torn from what was left of their dresses, and tied on with strings made from the soft, flexible bark of the young leather-wood shrub.

Toiling along in this sorry plight day after day, having passed the present sites of Huntington and Guyandotte, and crossed Guyandotte river, passed Green Bottom, where Thomas Hannon, as early as the year 1796, made the first white settlement within the present limits of Cabell county, the first on the Ohio River from the Kanawha to the Big Sandy, opposite the site of Gallipolis, and under the noted cliff over which Ben. Eulin, years after, made his famous fifty-three feet leap, when pursued by Indians, and was saved from death by falling in the tops of paw-paw bushes and grape vines, they at length reached the mouth of the Kanawha river, not then so called, but New river, or Wood's river, as they knew it, or the "Chinodacheta" as the French had then recently named it. This point was well remembered by Mrs. Ingles, and the sight of it again, under such circumstances, after her terrible experiences and sufferings for the past few months, stirred within her breast a flood of painful recollections and reflections, and a terrible struggle between hope and despair. Here, at last, after all she had gone through on this desperate effort to regain her liberty and home, was the river that led on to that home and friends from whom she had been torn by savage hands. These waters came down from them, but brought her no tidings. If she could but follow up the stream, it would lead her to them, if indeed they still survived; but could she ever get there? It seemed impossible, weary and worn as she was by toil and anxiety, reduced as she was by exposure, cold and starvation, and her companion, instead of being an aid and comfort to her, had now become a source of danger and dread; but her situation was too horrible to let her mind dwell upon it. She dared not count the odds or weigh the chances too loosely. She knew that these odds and chances were largely against her. She knew that there was constant danger from savage Indians, for this was a favorite route for their raids into the Virginia settlements, danger from wild beasts, from starvation, cold, exposure and sickness, and danger from her companion. To give up, or delay, was certain death; to press on was at least, going in the direction of relief and of home and friends. She summoned to her aid all her resolution for another effort, and again the toilsome journey was resumed. Day after day they dragged their weary limbs along, suffering and starving; night after night they shivered, starved and suffered, crawling into hollow logs or hollow trees as a partial protection from the increasing cold, and thus they traversed this now beautiful valley, then an unbroken wilderness, never penetrated by foot of white person, until Mrs. Ingles and others passed through it a few months before, as prisoners. In those days herds of buffalo and elk roamed through these valleys and over the hills. There were well beaten

paths where they passed through the low gaps, between the hills, on their way to and from the Salt licks or springs, traces of which were visible to within recent years. The last buffalo killed in this valley was by Archibald Price, on the waters of Little Sandy creek of Elk river, about twelve miles from Charleston, in 1815. The last elk killed in the valley, and probably the last east of the Ohio river, was killed by Billy Young, on Two Mile creek of Elk river, about five and a half miles from Charleston, in 1820. One of our venerable citizens, Mr. John Slack, Sr., then a small boy, still alive and vigorous, remembers this elk and its huge horns between which a man could walk upright and ate part of the game. It is said that vast herds of buffalo summered in the Kanawha valley, "in an early day," within reach of the Salt spring, or "Big Buffalo lick," as it was called, and in the fall, went to the grass regions of Ohio and Kentucky, and the cane brakes of the Kentucky streams. Their routes were for Kentucky, down through Teays' valley, and for Ohio, down Kanawha to Thirteen Mile creek, and over to Letart, where they crossed the Ohio river. Col. Grogham, who came down the Ohio in a boat in 1765, encountered a vast migrating herd crossing at Letart.

It is curious to note what changes occurred in the tenantry of the forest upon the advent of the white man. The Indians, after a bloody and desperate resistance, were driven back. The buffalo, deer, elk, bears and panthers, feeling themselves unequal to the contest, submitted to the inevitable, and passed on. Wolves were numerous "in an early day," but soon became almost extinct. Dr. Doddridge, one of the most observant of the early pioneers, thinks this was occasioned, more than all other causes put together, by hydrophobia. Probably this was introduced among them by the dogs of the white man. Carnivorous birds, as eagles and buzzards, were very numerous, but rapidly diminished in numbers. Wild turkeys were extremely abundant, but were soon "cleaned out." Venomous snakes were numerous, and held their own with some tenacity. Gray and black squirrels were very numerous, and, for a time, seemed rather to increase than diminish, and were very destructive to the early corn fields. Every few years, moved by one of the inexplicable instincts of animals, they migrated, in countless numbers, from west to east. There were no crows nor black birds in the wilderness, and no song birds, but they soon followed in the wake of the white man. There were no rats, but they soon followed. 'Possums were later coming, and the fox squirrels still later. There were no wild honey bees, but they came in with the whites, keeping a little in advance. The famishing women daily saw plenty of game and wild animals, but only to be tantalized by them. They could make no use of them. They were only too

glad to be let alone by the frightful beasts. As they passed the mouth of the Kanawha, they passed in sight of the afterward bloody battle ground of Point Pleasant, which will be treated of at length in a separate chapter. About eighteen years later (in 1773) there was much discussion in the country in reference to establishing a separate colony in the west, with the seat of government at the mouth of the Kanawha. Gen. Washington, who owned a tract containing about 30,000 acres of land on the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, among them a tract of over 10,000 acres on both sides of the Kanawha, commencing a short distance above the mouth, in advertising to sell or lease the latter, in 1773, says, in conclusion:

"And it may not be amiss, further to observe, that if the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio, in the manner talked of, should ever be effected, these must be among the most valuable lands in it, not only on account of the goodness of the soil and other advantages above mentioned, but from their contiguity to the seat of government which, it is more than probable, will be fixed at the mouth of the great Kanawha.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

A few years earlier, Washington and the Lees, says Payton, were figuring on a gigantic land scheme in the west. They formed a land company called "The Mississippi Company," and they modestly asked George III. for a grant of two and a half million acres in the west. The company was composed of George Washington, F. L. Lee, R. H. Lee and Arthur Lee. From about 1767 to 1769 or 1770, Washington had Col. Crawford through the west, off and on, examining and making notes of the best bodies of land. In 1769, Arthur Lee went over to urge the claims of the Mississippi Company, in person, before George III. and the parliament. The grant was not made, and the scheme was finally abandoned. But suppose it had succeeded, how different might have been the history of our country! Washington and the Lees might have been the ruling spirits in a great western republic, with the seat of the government at Point Pleasant. The country west of the Ohio was then sometimes called the "State of Washington." In 1787, the legislature of Virginia, in granting a ferry franchise across the Ohio river, says, from lands of so and so, in Ohio county, West Va., to lands of so and so, in the "State of Washington," now limited to Washington county, Ohio. From Point Pleasant the fugitives passed up on the lower or west side of Kanawha, passing opposite the present towns of Leon, Buffalo, Red House and Raymond City, all now built up on the east side, passed by Tackett's Knob, and the famous pine tree to which Tackett was tied by the Indians, in after years; over the site of Winfield, the present county seat of Putnum county, etc. In passing the

mouth of Scary creek, where the Chesapeake & Ohio railway now leaves the river, they passed the site of the first, or one of the very first, battles fought between the federals and confederates in the late civil war, being the 17th of July, 1861, and one week before the first battle of "Bull Run." The federals were commanded by Col. Norton, and the confederates were under the immediate command of Capt. (afterward Colonel) George S. Patton. Both commanders were wounded; twelve federals were killed, and three confederates. Gen. Henry A. Wise was then in supreme command of the Kanawha forces, with Col. C. Q. Tompkins next in command. At the mouth of Coal river the fugitives passed, on the lower side, the future site of Fort Tackett, one of the first forts built in the valley, when the white settlements began, and the scene of a bloody tragedy and capture of the fort by the Indians. In after years (1788), from this fort, under cover of darkness, John Young escaped, taking in his arms his young wife with a babe of one day old, and the bed or pallet on which she lay, put them in a canoe, and, during the night, through a drenching rain storm, poled the canoe up to the fort where Charleston now stands. Neither father, mother, nor babe suffered from the exposure, the mother lived to be about ninety, and the babe lived to be over ninety, dying but a few years since, leaving a large family of worthy descendants in this valley. Above the mouth of Coal river the fugitive women passed the site of the present town of St. Albans, a Chesapeake & Ohio railway station. They had to go up Coal river until they could wade it, as they had done with Licking, Little Sandy, Big Sandy, Guyandotte, Twelve Pole, and other streams. Twelve miles above Coal river, they passed opposite the mouth of Elk river, two miles up, which Simon Kenton, the afterward renowned pioneer and Indian fighter, and two companions, Yeager and Strader, sixteen years later (1771), built a cabin, and occupied it; engaged in hunting and trapping until the spring of 1773, when they were attacked by Indians. Yeager was killed, and Kenton and Strader both wounded, though they made their escape to a hunting camp at the mouth of the Kanawha. So far as known, Simon Kenton and companions were the first white men who ever built a cabin or camp and lived in the valley, Mrs. Ingles and companions having been the first white persons ever here, as above stated. Immediately above the mouth of Elk river, they passed opposite the site of the present city of Charleston, the capital of West Virginia. Here, Fort Clendenin was afterward saved from Indian capture by the heroism of a brave little woman, Ann Bailey, who rode her black pony, called "Liverpool," to the fort at Lewisburg, called Camp Union or Fort Savannah, 100 miles distant, through a wilderness, and back alone, bringing the besieged a

supply of powder, etc. Between four and five miles above here, they passed the spot where, thirty odd years later, that prince of pioneers and frontiersman, Daniel Boone, built a cabin and lived for ten or twelve years. See chapter on Boone. Opposite this, and just above the mouth of Campbell's creek, was the salt spring where Mrs. Ingles and her companions and captors had stopped to rest and make salt, as they passed down, some months before, as above stated. For many years after the settlement of the country, this locality was the chief source of supply of salt for the great west, until the Pomeroy salt region, and afterward Saginaw, Mich., and others, were developed. (For a history of the salt interest of Kanawha, see chapter on Salt.) Ten miles further up the river, they passed opposite the afterward noted Burning spring, first located and owned by Gens. Washington and Lewis, in 1775. Gen. Washington in his will, in speaking of this tract, says: "The tract of which the 125 acres is a moiety, was taken up by Gen. Andrew Lewis and myself, for and on account of a bituminous spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as difficult to extinguish." Gen. Washington gave, or intended to give, to the public forever, as a great natural curiosity, two acres of land embracing the Burning spring, and a right of way to the river; but from oversight, or other reason not now known, the grant was never put on record, and Dr. Lawrence Washington, nephew of his uncle, and to whom it descended, sold it to Messrs. Dickinson & Shrewsberry, who, in 1843, bored on it, striking the largest yield of natural gas ever tapped in the valley.

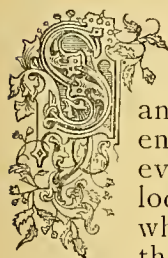
While on the subject of this spring I will mention a curious and interesting fact that occurred here in 1831 or 1832. Three men who had but recently come to the neighborhood, and were employed at a salt furnace, close by, were standing around the wonderful spring, watching with amazement and awe the bubbling and boiling of the water, and the gaseous flames leaping up from its surface, when, suddenly, there came, from a passing cloud, a flash of lightning, and an electrical stroke, or discharge, right into the spring. The shock instantly prostrated the three men standing around it. One, who was least stunned, soon got up and ran to the furnace and gave the alarm. A second one, after a little time, was able to hobble off without help; but the third had to be carried home on a stretcher, and was so seriously shocked that he never entirely recovered from the effects of it. One of our late elderly citizens, Mr. Silas Ruffner, was present, and a witness of the facts related. It may be well to explain, for those who do not understand it, that the Burning spring was not actually a spring of flowing water, but simply a pool, or puddle, up through which issued a stream of natural gas, keeping the water in bubbling motion, resembling boiling, and the gas, upon

being lighted, would burn till put out by rain or blown out by the wind. Having passed the mouths of Rush, Lens, Fields and Slaughters' creeks, they (the escaping women) next passed the mouth of Cabin creek, where, about twenty years later, the family of John Flinn, one of the earliest settlers, was in part killed, and the remainder captured by the Indians, for more particulars of which, see chapter on Boone. Four miles above here they passed the mouth of Kelly's creek, where, in 1773, Walter Kelly made the first family settlement in the valley, and where, in the following year, he lost his life, as elsewhere related. At this place William Morris founded a permanent settlement soon after Kelly's death, and built Fort Morris, the first in the valley. The Kelly cabin stood near a ravine, a few rods above, and the Morris fort on the creek, about 150 yards below the present Tompkins brick church. About the same time his brother, Leonard Morris, made a settlement at the mouth of Slaughter's creek, and not long after, Henry Morris, another brother, settled on Peters creek of Gauley. Three miles above Kelly's creek, the fugitives passed the mouth of Paint creek, the route of the Indian trail down which Mrs. Ingles and her captors came, some months before. About the mouth of Paint creek there seems to have been a large and very ancient aboriginal settlement. There are still remains of extensive stone fortifications on the high hill above the creek, and similar and larger ones, acres in extent, on the high mountain between Armstrong and Loup creeks, and from an old burying ground, at the river, about the town of Clifton, are still unearthed, from time to time, interesting relics of the "stone age," or mound-builder period. Fourteen miles above Paint creek, having passed the present sites of Coal valley and Cannelton, Morris, Armstrong and Loup creeks, they passed the falls of the great Kanawha, over "Van Bibber's rock," where, in 1773, John and Peter Van Bibber, Matthew Arbuckle and John Alderson spent a night under a shelving rock near the water's edge, just under the falls, to secrete themselves from a party of Indians, whose sign they had discovered, and where John Van Bibber pecked his name in the rock with the pole of his tomahawk. This fact is related by David Van Bibber, "nephew of his uncle," recently deceased, at over ninety.

CHAPTER V.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

CANYON OF NEW RIVER—AWFUL CHASM PASSED BY THE LONELY FUGITIVES—FRIGHTFUL PERILS—"DRAWING STRAWS"—WHICH SHALL DIE?—LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE—WEARY JOURNEY RENEWED—SCALING ANVIL CLIFF—YIELDING TO DISPAIR—RELIEF AT LAST AND HOME—FATE OF THE OLD DUTCH WOMAN—BATTLES, SIEGES AND SURPRISES.



SOME two miles above the falls, the fugitives passed, on the opposite side, the mouth of Gauley river, and thence out of the Kanawha valley proper, and entered the grand canyon of New river. How did they ever get through it? Can the railroad engineers who located the C. & O. road, or the contractors and others who built it, or anybody who ever looked down into that awful chasm from the cliffs and precipitous mountains, 1,000 to 1,500 feet above, or ever looked out at it from the windows of a Chesapeake & Ohio railway car—can any of these, looking back, in imagination, to the time when all this wild scene was in a state of nature, tell how these destitute and famished, but heroic women ever made the passage of this terrible gorge from Gauley to Greenbriar? Or conceive of the amount of daring and desperation it required to nerve them to the effort? The how can not now be told in full detail, but the simple and comprehensive answer is: They did it and survived. They passed up by Penitentiary Rocks, the Little Falls, Cotton Hill, the Blue Hole, the Pope's Nose, the Short Tunnel, the Lovers' Leap, the Hawk's Nest, Sewell, Quinnmount, War Ridge, Fire Creek, Stone Cliff, Castle Rock, Stretcher's Neck, Piney, Glade Creek, New River Falls, etc., etc.—all nameless then. They walked, climbed, crept and crawled, through brush and thorns, vines and briers, over and around the huge rocks that have tumbled down from the towering cliffs above, and the avalanches of debris that followed their crushing courses—climbed under or over fallen timber, over slippery banks and insecure footings, wading creeks that had to be crossed, wading around cliffs and steep banks that jutted out into the main stream, and when this was impossible, as was sometimes the case, they had to climb over or around the obstruction, however high, however difficult,

however tedious, however dangerous, looking down from the dizzy heights upon the rushing, roaring torrents of New river below, madly dashing against the huge rocks and bowlders that obstruct its course, and lashing the bases of the cliffs and tortuous shores as it furiously rushes on. Suppose, in this terrible struggle, these poor, leg-weary and foot-sore women had, in their unrestful slumbers, on couches of leaves or bare earth, in caves or hollow logs, dreamed that their great-grandchildren would now be gliding through this wild canyon, the roughest this side of the Rocky mountains, in luxurious Pullman palace cars, at the rate of forty miles an hour — outspeeding the wind — and that time and distance should be annihilated in sending messages through it to far away friends! They probably did not, in their wildest flights, even dream anything so seemingly impossible; and yet, how strangely true it is!

They had passed Flat-Top mountain, Blue Stone river, Indian creek, etc., and were about the mouth of East river, up which the New river branch of the Norfolk & Western railroad now runs, when the old woman again became desperate, and this time more dangerous than ever. In the extremity of her suffering from starvation and exhaustion she threatened to kill Mrs. Ingles with cannibalistic intent. Mrs. Ingles tried temporizing, by proposing to “draw cuts” to determine which one should be the victim; to this the old woman consented. The lot fell to Mrs. Ingles; she then appealed to the old woman’s cupidity by offering her large rewards when they got home, if she would spare her; but the pangs of present hunger were more potent than the hope of future gain, and she undertook, then and there, to immolate her victim. She succeeded in getting Mrs. Ingles in her grasp, and it became a struggle for life or death. How sad that these poor women, after all they had suffered and endured together, should now, in that vast solitude, alone, with no eye to see, nor hand to save or aid, be engaged in a hand to hand, life or death struggle! The old woman, to prevent death by starvation, would kill her companion for food, while Mrs. Ingles was trying to save her life from the murderous hand of her companion, probably to die a lingering death from starvation; the choice seemed worth but little. If they had had more strength, the result might have been more serious; or, possibly, fatal to one or both. But both were so feeble that neither had done the other much hurt until Mrs. Ingles, being much the younger (she was then but 23), and, by comparison, still somewhat more active, succeeded in escaping from the clutches of her adversary, and started on up the river, leaving the old woman greatly exhausted by the struggle. When well out of sight, she slipped under the river bank and secreted herself until the old woman had recovered breath and passed on, supposing that Mrs. Ingles was still in ad-

vance. This scene occurred late in the evening, between sundown and dark. When Mrs. Ingles emerged from her concealment, the moon was up and shining brightly, and by its light she discovered, near at hand, a canoe at the river bank, half full of leaves blown into it by the wind; but there was no paddle, oar or pole; as a substitute, she picked up, after some search, a small slab or sliver from a shattered tree, blown down by a storm. She had never before undertaken, literally, to "paddle her own canoe," and found much difficulty, at first, in guiding it; but, persevering patiently, she caught the knack of steering it, and as the river was low, and not much current at the place, she succeeded in making her way safely across. Here, to her great relief, she found a cabin or camp that had been built by some hunters from the settlements above, and a patch where they had attempted to raise some corn. Seeing no one about — the place being deserted — she crept into the cabin and spent the night. Next morning she searched the patch for some corn, but was sadly disappointed to find that the buffalo, bears, and other wild animals, had utterly destroyed it; she discovered in the ground, however, two small turnips which the animals had failed to find, and on these she made a sumptuous breakfast. Resuming her now solitary journey, she had gone but a short distance when she discovered her late companion on the opposite shore. They halted and held a parley. The old woman professed great remorse and penitence, made all sorts of fair promises for the future, and begged piteously to be brought over, or that Mrs. Ingles would come back to her, that they might continue their journey together. With Mrs. Ingles it was a question between sympathy and safety, but a wise discretion prevailed. After all that had occurred, she concluded that it would be safer to keep the river between them, and, accordingly, each went her way on opposite sides.

From the best reckoning Mrs. Ingles could make, she concluded that she must now be within about thirty miles of home; but much of the remainder of the way was extremely rough, the weather was growing colder, and, worse than all, her physical exhaustion was now so extreme that it seemed impossible that she could continue the struggle much longer. She feared that, after all she had suffered and borne, she would at last have to succumb to hunger, exposure and fatigue, and perish in the wilderness, alone. As her physical strength waned, however, her strong will power bore her up and on, and hope sustained her as wearily and painfully she made mile after mile, eating what she could find in the forest, if anything; sleeping when and where she could, if at all. She had passed up through the "New river narrows," the great rift where New river has cut its way through the solid "Peter's mountain" (so named at the eastern

end for Peter Wright, a famous old hunter and pioneer, but here named after a pioneer family named Peters). It is one of the wildest scenes in the state. She had passed the butte of Wolf mountain and the mouth of Wolf creek. Near here, Peterstown, on the east side, has since been built. She had passed near the present site of Giles C. H., and nearly under the shadows of the towering "Angel's Rest" mountain, on the west side (so named by Gen. Cloyd), 4,000 feet high, with its rock-ribbed sides and castellated towers, said to strongly resemble Mount Sinai, but it brought no rest nor peace to her. She had passed the cliff near Giles C. H., had crawled around or over the huge cliffs just below the mouth of Stony creek. She had by some means gotten beyond that grand wall of cliff jutting into the river for two miles, extending from opposite Walker's creek to Doe creek, and two miles above this, another seemingly impassable cliff had been scaled. She had gotten about two miles beyond these last named cliffs, and was near the base of the "Salt Pond mountain," with its beautiful lake near its summit, 4,000 feet above tide, and one of the greatest natural curiosities of the state; but her mind was not occupied with the grandeur of the scenery, nor the beauty of these then nameless localities she was passing; she only knew that each one passed put her that much nearer home—sweet home! Night was approaching; snow had fallen, and it was bitterly cold (it was now about the last of November); just before her she was confronted by still another gigantic cliff, hundreds of feet high, the base in the water and the crown overhanging. At last her progress seemed utterly barred; there were no ledges, no shelving rocks, no foot-holds of any kind to climb around on. The only chance left, it seemed, was to wade around the base, as she had done in other cases; this she tried, but found that, to her, it was an unfathomable gulf.

Her heart sank within her; night was now upon her; cold before, she was now wet and colder still. She had nothing to eat; she could find no soft couch of leaves, no friendly cave or hollow log. In despair she threw herself down on the bare ground and rocks, and there lay in that pitiable condition, more dead than alive, until next morning. With the dawning of the day there was a feeble revival of hope—for while we live we will hope. She thought of the only possible remaining way of passing this gigantic barrier; this was to climb around and over the top of it, but in attempting to rise she found that her limbs were so stiff, and swollen, and sore from the wet, cold and exposure that she could scarcely stand, much less walk or climb. Still, there was no choice; if she could she must, so again she tried. Slowly, as the effort and exercise relieved her somewhat from the paralyzing chill, she wound her devious, tedious and painful

way, hour after hour, getting a little higher, and a little higher. So feeble and faint from hunger, such soreness and pain from her lacerated feet and swollen limbs, that from time to time she looked down from her dizzy heights, almost tempted, from sheer exhaustion and suffering, to let go and tumble down to sudden relief and everlasting rest. Climbing and resting, resting and climbing, she at last reached the summit, and the day was far spent. While resting here, her thoughts had wandered on up the river to her home and friends. She knew that she must now be within twelve or fifteen miles of that home. "So near and yet so far." If she had strength, how quickly she would fly to it; but, alas! in her now desperate and deplorable condition the chance of reaching it seemed fainter, even, than when she left Big Bone lick with strength, hope and resolution. Now, she did not know what hour her powers might utterly fail; what minute nature might yield and she would be lost. As long as she lived, Mrs. Ingles always referred to this as the most terrible day of her eventful life.

Arousing herself again to the necessities of the hour, she started on her painful and perilous descent; crawling, falling, slipping and sliding, she at length reached the bottom as the day was about departing. I have talked with a friend of mine, born and reared in this neighborhood, and who is perfectly familiar with all this part of New river. He tells me that this cliff is 280 feet high to the top, measured, the first 100 feet overhanging, and that the water in the pool at the base has never been fathomed. He had often tried it in his youth, with long poles and with weighted lines, but never got bottom. There is, he says, a whirlpool, or sort of maelstrom, here, down into which, when the river is high, logs, driftwood, etc., are drawn, coming up again some distance below. No wonder Mrs. Ingles could not wade around the cliff; no wonder it took her a whole day, in her exhausted condition, to climb over it. The highest point of this front cliff, from some real or fancied resemblance to a huge anvil, is called "Anvil Rock." Just across the river, in a corresponding cliff — all of the blue limestone — is a natural arch, which is called "Cæsar's Arch," and near it a natural column called "Pompey's Pillar." "Sinking creek," a considerable stream, which, in low water, loses itself under ground some miles in the rear, finds its cavernous way under the mountains and into the river, below the surface, in the deep pool at the base of Anvil Rock cliff. In freshets, the surplus water finds its way to the river three-fourths of a mile below. Mrs. Ingles, after getting to the bottom of the cliff, had gone but a short distance when, to her joyful surprise, she discovered, just before her, a patch of corn. She approached it as rapidly as she could move her painful limbs along. She saw no one, but there were evident signs of persons about. She ha

looded; at first there was no response, but relief was near at hand. She was about to be saved, and just in time. She had been heard by Adam Harmon and his two sons, whose patch it was, and who were in it gathering their corn. Suspecting, upon hearing a voice, that there might be an intended attack by Indians, they grabbed their rifles, always kept close at hand, and listened attentively. Mrs. Ingles hallooed again. They came out of the corn and toward her, cautiously, rifles in hand. When near enough to distinguish the voice — Mrs. Ingles still hallooing — Adam Harmon remarked to his sons: "Surely, that must be Mrs. Ingles' voice." Just then she, too, recognized Harmon, when she was overwhelmed with emotions of joy and relief — poor, overtaxed nature gave way, and she swooned and fell, insensible, to the ground. They picked her up tenderly and conveyed her to their little cabin, near at hand, where there was protection from the storm, a rousing fire and substantial comfort. Mrs. Ingles soon revived, and the Harmons were unremitting in their kind attentions and efforts to promote her comfort. They had in their cabin a stock of fresh venison and bear meat; they set to work to cook and make a soup of some of this, and, with excellent judgment, would permit their patient to take but little at a time, in her famished condition. While answering her hurried questions as to what they knew about her home and friends, they warmed some water in their skillet and bathed her stiff and swollen feet and limbs, after which they wrapped her in their blankets and stowed her away tenderly on their pallet in the corner, which to her, by comparison, was "soft as downy pillows are," and a degree of luxury she had not experienced since she was torn away from her own home by ruthless savages, more than four months before. Under these new and favoring conditions of safety and comfort, it is no wonder that "nature's sweet restorer" soon came to her relief and bathed her wearied senses and aching limbs in balmy, restful and refreshing sleep.

Mrs. Ingles awoke next morning greatly rested and refreshed. She called to Harmon and told him of her experience with the old woman, her companion, and begged him to send his boys back down the river in search of her, but the boys, having heard Mrs. Ingles relate the story of her adventure with the old woman, and, very naturally, feeling outraged and indignant at her conduct, refused to go, and Harmon, sharing their feelings, declined to compel them; so the old woman was left, for the present, to make her own way, as best she could. Harmon and his sons had been neighbors of Mrs. Ingles at Draper's Meadows, before her capture, and before they came down here to make this new clearing and settlement. As neighbors on a frontier, where neighbors are scarce, they had known each other well. Harmon considered no attention, labor or pains too great

to testify his friendship for Mrs. Ingles and tender regard for her distressful condition. He had brought to this new camp, when he came, two horses and a few cattle to range on the rich wild pea vines which grew here luxuriantly. He had heard in his time, and it impressed itself upon his memory, that beef tea was the best of all nourishing and strengthening diets and restoratives for persons in a famished and exhausted condition; so, although he had, as before stated, plenty of nice, fresh game meat in his cabin, he took his rifle, and, against the protests of Mrs. Ingles, went out, hunted up and shot down a nice, fat beef, to get a little piece as big as his hand, to boil in his tin cup, to make her some beef tea, and make it he did, feeding her, first with the tea alone, and then with tea and beef, until within a couple of days, thanks to her naturally robust constitution and health, she was sufficiently recovered, rested and strengthened to travel; when he put her on one of his horses, himself taking the other, and started with her to her home at Draper's Meadows, some ten or twelve miles distant, up the river; but when they arrived at the settlement there was an Indian alarm, and all the neighbors had congregated at a fort at "Dunkard Bottom," on the west side of the river, a short distance above "Ingles' Ferry," so they went on to this place, arriving about night, and Mrs. Ingles had, with glad surprise, a joyful meeting with such of her friends as were present in the fort.

The next morning, after arriving at the fort, Mrs. Ingles again begged Harmon, now that he had restored her to her friends, to comfort and safety, to go back and hunt for the poor old woman, and, if still alive, to bring her in. This he now consented to do, and started promptly, down the west bank of the river. A few miles after she and Mrs. Ingles had parted company the old woman met with a genuine piece of good luck. She came upon a hunters' camp, just abandoned, apparently precipitately, for what reason she could not tell — possibly from an Indian alarm — but they had left on the fire a kettle of meat, cooking, to which she addressed herself assiduously. She remained here two or three days, resting, eating and recuperating her strength. The hunters had left at the camp an old pair of leather breeches; these the old woman appropriated to her own personal use and adornment, being by no means fastidious about the fit, or the latest style of cut or fashion, her own clothes being almost entirely gone. An old horse had also been left by the supposed hunters, loose about the camp, but no sign of saddle or bridle. The old woman remained at the camp, its sole occupant (no one putting in an appearance while she was there) until she had consumed all the meat in the pot; she then made a sort of bridle or halter of leatherwood bark, caught the old horse, put on him that same bell which was found on the horse

captured opposite Scioto, and taken off by the practical-minded old woman when that horse had been abandoned to his fate among the drift logs in Big Sandy, and carried through all her terrible struggles and suffering to this place. Having taken the wrapper from around the clapper, and so hung the bell on the horse's neck that it would tinkle as he went, as, being so near the settlement, she now hoped to meet settlers or hunters, she mounted him; riding in the style best adapted to her newly acquired dress of leather unmentionables, and again started up the river on her way to the then frontier settlement. Thus slowly jogging along, hallooing from time to time to attract the attention of any one who might be within hearing, she was met in this plight, about the "Horse Shoe," or mouth of Back creek, opposite "Buchanan's Bottom," by Adam Harmon, in search of her, and taken on to the fort. The meeting between Mrs. Ingles and the old woman was very affecting. Their last parting had been in a hand to hand struggle for life or death — not instigated by malice or vindictiveness, but by that first great law of nature, self-preservation, that recognizes no human law; but now that they were both saved, this little episode was tacitly considered as forgotten. Remembering only the common dangers they had braved, and the common sufferings they had endured together in the inhospitable wilderness, they fell upon each other's necks and wept, and all was reconciliation and peace. The old woman remained here for a time, awaiting an opportunity to get to her own home and friends in Pennsylvania. Finding, before long, an opportunity of getting as far as Winchester, by wagon, she availed herself of it, and from there, with her precious bell, the sole trophy of her terrible travels and travails, it was hoped and believed that she soon got safely home. No record of her name has been preserved. In the traditions of the Ingles family she is known and remembered only as "the old Dutch woman." Adam Harmon, having accomplished his mission of mercy, and improved the unexpected opportunity of a social reunion with his late neighbors and friends, took an affectionate leave of Mrs. Ingles and her and his friends, and returned to his new camp and clearing down the river. This settlement of Harmon's was at a point on the east bank of New river, now the site of that well known place of summer resort, the "New River White Sulphur," or "Chapman's," or "Eggleston's Springs," which, for grandeur and beauty of scenery, is probably not excelled by any of the beautiful watering places of the Virginia mountains. The New river branch of the Norfolk & Western railroad runs along the opposite shore of the river, the station for this place being called "Ripple Mead."

The formidable cliff described above, the climbing over which

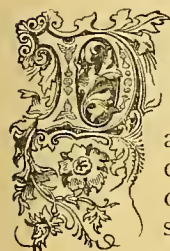
occupied Mrs. Ingles one whole day, the most terrible of her life, is immediately below the springs, is a part of the springs estate, and well known to frequenters of that popular resort. The little cove immediately above the cliff, and the then site of the Harmon cabin and corn patch, is now called "Clover Nook." The writer regrets that he does not know the after-history of Adam Harmon and sons, the pioneer settlers of this beautiful place; but from every descendant of Mrs. Ingles, now and forever, he bespeaks proper appreciation and grateful remembrances of the brave, tender-hearted, sympathetic, noble Adam Harmon. Twenty or thirty years later there was a family of Harmons—Henry and his sons, George and Matthias—who distinguished themselves for their coolness and bravery as Indian fighters in the Clinch settlements of Tazewell. It is presumed that they were of the same Harmon stock, but just what relation to Adam the writer does not know. As stated above, Mrs. Ingles, on her arrival at the fort, had a joyful meeting with such of her friends as she found there; but the two of all others whom she had hoped and expected to find there—the two for whom her heart had yearned with deepest love, and the hope of again seeing whom had sustained her in her captivity and nerved her to her desperate exertions in her escape—her husband and her brother—were not there. They had gone, some weeks before, down to the Cherokee Nation in the Tennessee and Georgia region, to see if they could get any tidings of their lost families, and, if so, to try, through the Cherokees—they then being friendly with the whites and also with the Indian tribes north of the Ohio—to ransom and recover them; but their expedition had been fruitless, and they were returning, sad, disconsolate, despairing, almost hopeless. On the night that Mrs. Ingles had reached the fort, William Ingles and John Draper stayed within a few miles of it, and about where the town of Newberry, Pulaski county, now stands. Next morning they made a daylight start and arrived at the fort to breakfast, and to find, to their inexpressible joy and surprise, that Mrs. Ingles had arrived the night before. Such a meeting, under such circumstances, and after all that had occurred since they last parted, nearly five months before, may be imagined, but cannot be described. There is probably no happiness in this life without alloy; no sweet without its bitter; no rose without its thorn. Though William and Mary Ingles were inexpressibly rejoiced to be restored to each other, their happiness was saddened by the bitter thought that their helpless little children were still in the hands of the savages; and while John Draper was overjoyed to have his sister return, he could not banish the ever-present and harrowing thought that his wife was still in the far-off wilderness—in the hands of savages and her fate unknown.

William Ingles built at Ingles' ferry a fort for the security of his own family and others who were now settling about him, and several times afterward the neighbors were gathered in this fort for safety and common defense, when Indian attacks were made or threatened. Once, when there was no one at the house or fort but William Ingles and his wife, she discovered, stealthily approaching the house, nine armed warriors in their war paint. She gave the alarm, and William Ingles at once posted himself in a position of defense, but discovered that he had but one bullet, and that was in his gun. Mrs. Ingles soon got the lead and ladle, however, and molded bullets as fast as he fired. Having failed to take the place by surprise, as they had evidently expected, the Indians, after a few rounds, fired without effect, abandoned the attack and left. About this time, William Ingles and a companion, named John Shilling, were on Meadow creek, a branch of Little river. They were fired on by several Indians; all took to trees—white men and Indians—and fought Indian-fashion. The result was that Ingles and Shilling killed two Indians, and the others fled. William Ingles came near having an eye put out by bark from the tree behind which he stood. Just as he started to look round, at one time, to get a shot, an Indian fired at him; the ball struck the tree and glanced, missing him, but dashed the bark into his face and eyes with great force and painful effect. About 1760, a party of eight or ten Indians passed Ingles' ferry and went up Little river and over to a settlement on the head of Smith's river, east of the Blue Ridge, where they murdered some defenseless settlers, took some women and children prisoners, caught their horses, loaded them with stolen plunder, and were returning by way of the New river settlement. Some one from the Ingles' ferry fort had gone out in search of some strayed horses, and discovered the Indian camp, at night, about six miles from the fort. He returned at once and reported what he had seen. William Ingles got together, as speedily as possible, fifteen or eighteen men, then at or near the fort, and, piloted by the man who had made the discovery, they started for the locality, intending to make an attack at daylight the next morning. They were a little late, however, and the Indians were up and preparing to cook their breakfast when the party reached the camp. At a concerted signal the attack was made; the Indians flew to their arms and made fight, but they were taken at a disadvantage and seven of the party shot down; the others fled made their escape. One white man from the fort was killed. The prisoners, horses and plunder, were all recovered. This was the last Indian engagement at or near this settlement; thenceforth they were undisturbed; peace prevailed, and the country began to settle up rapidly.

CHAPTER VI.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

EARLY EXPLORERS — FIRST SURVEYS IN WEST VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY — EARLY ROUTES OF TRAVEL — WEARY ROADS THROUGH THE WILDERNESS — STORY OF WILLIAM INGLES — HIS LIFE AMONG THE INDIANS — HIS RANSOM AND RELUCTANT RETURN — MOTHER'S JOY — HIS SUBSEQUENT RESTLESS CAREER — BLOODY RAID IN BURKE'S GARDEN — PURSUIT AND VENGEANCE — THE CAPTIVES OF ABT'S VALLEY.



MRAPER'S MEADOWS-INGLES' FERRY settlement was an outlying, advanced post of civilization, on the edge of the then great western wilderness, and soon became a place of rendezvous and point of departure, for individuals, families and parties bent on western adventure, exploration, emigration, or speculation. This way passed Dr. Thomas Walker and his first party of explorers, in 1748, and, also, his second expedition, in 1750. From here, in 1754, started out the first four or five family settlements that are known to have been made; that early, west of New river. James Burke went to Burke's Garden, in (now) Tazewell county; whether accompanied by others or not, is not known. There were two families settled on Back creek, now the Cloyd settlement, in Pulaski county; Ingles' ferry, on both sides; Reed at Dublin, McCorkle at Dunkard's bottom, two families on Cripple creek, another tributary of New river, now in Wythe county, and near this, just over the divide, one or two families on the headwaters of the Holston, now in Smythe county. From here started, in 1770, a party of hunters and explorers, reinforced at the then Holston and Clinch settlements, under Lieut. (afterwards Col.) Knox, who, later, founded Knoxville. They penetrated into Kentucky, were on Cumberland, Green and Kentucky rivers, and, from the long time they were gone, have ever since been known in border history as "the long hunters." From here, in 1773, a surveying party, composed of James, George and Robert McAfee, James McCown, Jr., Hancock Taylor and Samuel Adams, started for Kentucky. They came down New river, and were joined on the Kanawha by Col. Thomas Bullitt and party. Col. Bullitt, for military services in the Braddock and Forbes wars, having just located the big bottom survey on which the city of Charleston

now stands; they went by canoes down the Kanawha and down the Ohio rivers to the mouth of Kentucky river, where the party separated. The McAfees and Hancock Taylor went up the Kentucky river, and on the 16th of July, 1773, surveyed six hundred acres where the city of Frankfort now stands, being the first survey ever made on that river. This river, like most other western streams, has had a variety of names and spellings before settling down to its present one. Thus it has been Milewa-kemecepewe, Kan-tuck-kee, Che-no-ee, Cut-ta-wa, Louisa, and now Kentucky. It is generally believed that Dr. Walker named it Louisa, but this may be a mistake, as elsewhere shown. Bullitt and others stopped at Big Bone lick and made a survey of land, July 5th; they then went on to the falls of the Ohio, called by the Miamis "Lewekeomi," where they surveyed, in August, 1773, a body of land at the mouth of "Bear Grass creek," the site of the present city of Louisville; so that this surveying party located, on this trip, and within a few weeks of each other, the sites of the now capital cities of two states — West Virginia and Kentucky — and one of the largest commercial cities of the Ohio valley — Louisville. The surveyors returned overland through Kentucky, by way of Powell's valley and gap; and, after experiencing extraordinary privation and suffering, made their way back to the New river settlement. From here started, the following year (1774), the surveying parties under John Floyd, Hancock Taylor, Douglas, and others, who were in the wilds of Kentucky when the border troubles commenced, which finally culminated in the battle of Point Pleasant; and to notify whom of the Indian dangers, and pilot them safely back, Gov. Dunmore dispatched Daniel Boone, then at the Clinch settlement. Boone's mission was successful; the surveyors (except Hancock Taylor, who was killed), and some colonists, were found, notified, and the surveyors and Boone returned overland, by way of the Clinch settlement; Boone having made 800 miles on foot, going and returning, in sixty-two days. From this New river settlement went many of the early, enterprising settlers of Kentucky, whose descendants have since made honorable records in the history of the state and nation, among whom may be mentioned the Pattons, Prestons, Breckenridges, Floyds, Triggs, Taylors, Todds, Campbells, Overtons, McAfees, etc., etc.

Col. Thomas Speed, of Louisville, Ky., through the "Filson Historical Club," has recently issued, under the above title, a valuable and exceedingly interesting contribution to the history of the early routes of travel of the first emigrants to Kentucky. He describes two principal routes — one overland by way of New river, Fort Chiswell, Cumberland Gap and the Boone trace, and the other by the Braddock trail to Red Stone, or to Fort Pitt, and thence down the Ohio river, by boat.

A third and mixed route, partly by land and partly by water, passing down through Kanawha valley, deserves to be mentioned, as it was traveled by a good many, "in an early day." They came from the settlements along the border, or from farther east, by way of the frontier settlements, to this river, by land, and went from here by water; the mouths of Kelly's creek and Hughes' creek, where boats were built, being the usual points of embarkation, by the earlier voyagers. This way went the McAfees, James McCown, Samuel Adams, Hancock Taylor, Col. Thomas Bullitt, Douglas, John May, Jacob Sykes, Charles Johnson, John Flinn, John Floyd, Volney, and others. And many of the officers and men of Lewis' army, who afterward went to Kentucky, followed this route, having learned it in their trip to Point Pleasant. A little later, when settlements began north of the Ohio river, eastern Virginia and North Carolina sent a very large emigration by this route.

To return to the story of William and Mary Ingles and their lost children. These "babes in the wood" were the "skeletons in their closet." However otherwise happy and prosperous, here was an abiding and ever-present sorrow that marred every pleasure of their lives. The first thing heard from the children was that George, the youngest boy, had died not long after he was taken from the tender care of his mother at Scioto. This information first came through Mrs. Draper, on her return from captivity. Some years later, and after many ineffectual efforts had been made to recover, or even hear from the elder boy, Thomas, they met with a man named Baker, who had recently returned from a captivity among the Shawanees, in the Scioto country. It is believed that this was the William Baker who passed here in 1766 with Col. James Smith, a long-time Indian prisoner, on his way to explore the then unknown region between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. It turned out that Baker had lived in the same village with the Indian who had last adopted the boy as his son, and knew them both. William Ingles at once bargained with Baker to go back to the Indian country and ransom his boy and bring him home. Baker went down the valley of Virginia by Staunton to Winchester, across by Fort Cumberland (the site of an old Indian town called Cucuvatuc) to Fort Pitt, and thence down the Ohio to the Scioto. He found the Indian and made known his mission. After much negotiation, he succeeded in purchasing the boy, and paid out about \$100 for his ransom; but the boy was not at all pleased with the arrangement; he knew nothing of the white parents they told him about, in the far-off country; he knew only his Indian father and mother, brothers and sisters, and playmates, and, last but not least, his sweethearts, the pretty little squaws, and he did not want to be sent away from them. Partly by coaxing and fair

promises, however, and partly by force, Baker got him started, but kept him bound until they got forty to fifty miles from the Indian village. As they passed along, the dusky little maidens, as they got a chance to talk, would try to persuade him not to go, or beg him to come back to them. The little fellow could not withstand their appeals unmoved, and determined to escape; but, as the surest means of doing so, he feigned contentment and perfect willingness to go, until Baker ceased to bind him at night, as he at first did, but only took him in his arms when they went to sleep, thinking the boy could not get out of his embrace without awakening him. When he awoke one morning, however, he found, to his surprise and chagrin, that the boy was missing. Fearing to go home and report his carelessness and the loss of the boy to his parents, Baker went all the way back to the Indian village to try to recover him; but the squaws had concealed him and would not give him up, and Baker had, at last, to go home without him. This was a sad disappointment and blow to Mr. and Mrs. Ingles, especially to the mother, whose womanly heart had been so strongly yearning for her long lost boy. They had found him now, however, and must recover him. William Ingles determined to go for him, himself, and hired Baker to go back with him. They started, and pursued the same circuitous and tedious route, but when they arrived at Fort Pitt they found that hostilities had broken out between the Indians and the frontier white settlements, and it was impossible, then, to prosecute the journey. With deep reluctance they abandoned the trip, for the time, and returned to their homes, to await the restoration of peace. It proved to be more than a year before it was considered safe to renew the effort. William Ingles then again employed Baker to accompany him, and started out over the same circuitous route, by Pattonsburg, Staunton, Winchester, Fort Cumberland, Fort Pitt, and down the Ohio. When they arrived at the Indian town, they found that a party of Indians, the father of the boy and the boy included, had gone to Detroit, and would not return for several weeks. This was a great disappointment, but there was no help for it; they could but wait. When the Detroit party returned, the Indian father and the boy came home with them, as expected. Much to the gratification and relief of the white father, the boy took to him kindly at once. The mysterious influence of "blood" and the instinct of filial love asserted themselves, and the boy promised, freely and without reserve, to accompany his father whenever and wherever he pleased. The terms of his surrender were then negotiated with his Indian father, and the ransom—this time about the equivalent of \$150—again paid. All these negotiations and conferences were conducted through Baker, as interpreter; the boy had lost all recollection of his mother tongue, his

Indian father could not speak English, and William Ingles did not speak Indian. Arrangements being completed, there was a general leave-taking, with good feeling all round. The boy bade a long farewell to his old, and started with his new-found father, and Baker, to the far-off home. After weeks of tedious travel, they at last arrived safely at Ingles' Ferry, and the long-lost boy, his mother's first-born, was again in her arms and smothered with a mother's loving kisses. Notwithstanding he was petted, humored and caressed at home, a wild fit would overcome him now and then, and he would wander off alone in the wilderness, with his bow and arrow, and stay for days at a time, and, when he returned, would give no account of himself, nor explanation of his conduct. These freaks disturbed his mother very much; she feared that he would some day take a notion to return to his Indian friends and wild life, and that she should never see him again. He learned pretty rapidly to speak English, but very slowly to read and write.

After acquiring at home some preliminary and rudimentary foundation for an education, his father sent him to the care of his old friend, Dr. Thomas Walker, of "Castle Hill," Albemarle county (the present seat of the Rives family, who are descendants of Dr. Walker), to see what could be done in the way of educating him. There was a school for young men at or near Dr. Walker's residence, Castle Hill. While in Albemarle, he made some progress in his studies; but books were not to his taste, and study was very irksome to him. While prosecuting his studies here, some three or four years in all, his remarkable history attracted attention, and he made many acquaintances, some of whom were afterward very distinguished people. Among them were Madison, Monroe, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, William Wirt, etc. His friend, Dr. Walker, had been the guardian of young Jefferson, during his minority, after his father's death. Young Ingles used to relate that he and Jefferson, both being musically inclined, took lessons on the violin together, from the same instructor. In after years, Jefferson, when governor of Virginia, gave him (Ingles) a commission of colonel of militia. He formed here another acquaintance, who made a deeper and more lasting impression on his after life. It was that of a young lady who had captured his wild heart. Soon after leaving Albemarle, he volunteered with the forces then being raised, to go with Gen. Lewis' army to Point Pleasant, in 1774. He was made lieutenant in his company, which was part of Col. Christian's regiment. Young Ingles was in one of the companies left to garrison the fort at Point Pleasant during the following winter. When relieved at the Point, he met some of his old Indian friends from Scioto, and, at their earnest solicitation, went home with them, and spent some time in a

social, friendly visit. Shortly after his return from this visit — in 1775 — he married Miss Eleanor Grills, the Albemarle sweetheart of his schoolboy days. Being disposed to settle down, but determined to be in the wilderness, his father gave him a tract of land on Wolf creek, a tributary of New river, in (now) Giles county. He remained here a few years, and had made fair progress in clearing out a farm, when he determined to move to what was then called Absalom's valley, now Abb's valley, on the upper Blue Stone, also a branch of New river, some distance below. This stream is called "Blue Stone" from the deep blue valley limestone over which it flows, and which gives such fertility to the beautiful valley. The same experience was repeated here. After one or two years in opening up a farm, he concluded he was too convenient to the Indian Blue Stone trail for safety, as parties were frequently passing over this route, to make depredations on the settlements farther south. He next located in "Burke's Garden," in (now) Tazewell county—a rich and beautiful little limestone valley, or oval basin, about ten miles by seven, almost surrounded by high mountains, and one of the most charming spots in the state. It is drained by Wolf creek, on which lower down, he had lived some years earlier. His father, William Ingles, had "taken up" the Burke's Garden lands under "Loyal Land Company" authority, as early as 1753. James Burke, who came here from Ingles' Ferry in 1754, was the first settler, as elsewhere stated, and gave the place his name and his life. Thomas Ingles had but one neighbor in Burke's Garden—Joseph Hix by name, a bachelor, who lived within two miles. Ingles lived here in peace and apparent contentment until April, 1782, when a large party of Indians, led by the noted warrior, "Black Wolf," surrounded his house while he was out on the farm, and after taking his wife, three children and a negro man and woman prisoners, and taking as much as they could carry of whatever they found useful, loading the negro man and woman as well, they burned the house and everything that was left in it. When his attention was attracted by the smoke and fire, and the noise, Thomas Ingles started to his house; but being unarmed and seeing so large a force, he knew he could do no good, so he ran back to where he and a negro man were plowing, unhitched the horses, and each mounting one, they started to the nearest settlement for help. This settlement was in the "Rich Valley," or "Rich Patch," on the north fork of the Holston, and the present site of the "Washington Salt Works," about twenty miles distant. It happened to be a muster day, and most of the settlers round about were congregated here for drill. The messengers arrived about noon, and so soon as the facts were made known, fifteen or twenty men volunteered to go in pursuit of the Indians. They soon made their preparations

and started back, arriving at the site of Ingles' home early next morning; but there was nothing left but a pile of ashes. It so happened that Mr. Hix and his negro man were on their way to Thomas Ingles' house the morning before, when they discovered that the Indians had attacked and were destroying it. They at once started on foot across the mountain, to a small settlement six or seven miles distant. Here they got five or six volunteers and returned, reaching Burke's Garden about the same time that Thomas Ingles' party got there. They united their forces and started in pursuit. It was expected that the route of the Indians would be through or near the Clinch settlement, and it was about here that the whites first struck their trail. There was a company of militia stationed here for the protection of settlers on the frontier. Some of these joined the pursuing party, and Capt. Maxwell was put in command of the whole. The pursuit was made very cautiously, to prevent alarming the Indians and causing them to murder the prisoners. On the fifth day after the capture, some scouts sent in advance by the whites discovered the Indians where they had camped for the night, in a gap of Tug mountain. The pursuers held a consultation and decided that Captain Maxwell should take half the company, flank the Indians, and get round to their front and as near them as practicable, and that Thomas Ingles, with the other half, should remain in the rear, getting as close as possible, and at daylight the attack should be made simultaneously by both parties. Unfortunately, the night being very dark and the ground very rough and brushy, Captain Maxwell missed his way, got too far to one side, and did not get back within reach of the Indians by daylight. After waiting for Maxwell beyond the appointed time, and as the Indians began to stir, Thomas Ingles and his party determined to make the attack alone. So soon as a shot was fired, some of the Indians began to tomahawk the prisoners, while others fought and fled. Thomas Ingles rushed in and seized his wife just as she had received a terrible blow on the head with a tomahawk. She fell, covering the infant of a few months old, which she held in her arms. The Indians had no time to devote to it. They had tomahawked his little five-year-old daughter, named Mary, after his mother, and his little three-year-old son, named William, after his father. His negro servants, a man and woman, captured with his family, escaped without injury. In making their escape, the Indians ran close to Capt. Maxwell and party, and firing on them, killed Capt. Maxwell, who was conspicuous from wearing a white hunting shirt. He was the only one of the pursuers killed. The whites remained on the ground until late in the evening, burying Capt. Maxwell, who was killed outright, and Thomas Ingles' little son, who died from his wounds during the day. Mrs. Ingles and the

little girl were still alive though badly wounded. It was supposed that several Indians were killed in this engagement, but it was not certainly known. While the whites remained on the ground they heard the groans of apparently dying persons, but, as the sounds came from dense laurel thickets, they did not find them. This mountain pass through Tug ridge has ever since been known as "Maxwell's Gap," after the unfortunate Capt. Maxwell who lost his life here. When the dead had been buried, and the wounds of Mrs. Ingles and her little daughter had been dressed as well as practicable under the circumstances, the party started on their return to the settlements. Although only about twenty miles, it took four days to travel it, on account of the critical condition of Mrs. Ingles and her little girl. News of the capture of Thomas Ingles' family and the pursuit had reached the settlement at New river, and his father, William Ingles, had started out to Burke's Garden to see if he could render any assistance, and very thoughtfully, took with him the very best surgeon he could get. He met the returning party at the Clinch settlement. The little girl was beyond the skill of the doctor; she died from her wounds the next morning; but he rendered invaluable service to Mrs. Ingles, probably saving her life. He extracted several pieces of broken bone from her skull, dressed her wounds and attended her carefully until able to travel safely, when she and her husband and infant returned with William Ingles, to Ingles' Ferry, and remained there until next season. Mrs. Ingles, in the meantime, entirely recovered from her terrible wound. It is difficult now to appreciate the constant dangers which beset the early pioneers, or realize the readiness and cheerfulness with which they accepted the dangers, hardships, self-denials and privations incident to such a life. Probably the fullest and truest description of the conditions of border-life and the state of society existing along the western frontiers, about the time the first settlements began, was written by Rev. Dr. Joseph Doddridge, who was himself reared on the western border, on the upper Ohio, and was an unusually close and intelligent observer. His minuteness of detail, and lucidity of style, make his writings invaluable as record-pictures of the primitive condition of life on our western borders a hundred years and more ago.

William Ingles owned a number of slaves at Ingles' Ferry, and gave servants to his children as they were married and settled. These were the first slaves ever west of the Alleghenies, and those above mentioned, that had been given to Thomas Ingles, when he went housekeeping, were the first to cross New river westward.

In another little gem of a valley, not far distant, called "Abb's Valley," from Absalom Looney, its pioneer settler, who

came here in 1771, from about Looney's creek, near Pattonsburg, on James river, another bloody tragedy similar to that of Burke's Garden above described, was enacted about four years later. In July, 1786, a party of Shawanees, from the Ohio towns, led by the same stealthy and blood-thirsty Black Wolf, who had devastated the Ingles-Burke's Garden settlement, and who had also captured James Moore, Jr., in 1784, came up the Big Sandy, over Tug ridge and across the heads of Laurel creek to Abb's valley, where, on the 14th, they went to the house of Captain James Moore, who, with his brother-in-law, John Pogue, had located here in 1772. They found Captain Moore salting his stock, a short distance from the house, and shot him down; then rushing to the house, they killed two of his children, William and Rebecca, and John Simpson, who was a hired man or assistant and sick at the time. There were two other men in the harvest field, who fled and made their escape. These disposed of, the savages proceeded to make prisoners of Mrs. Moore, and her four remaining children — John, Jane, Mary and Peggy — and a Miss Martha Evans, of Augusta, who was living with the family. In their rapid retreat, it soon became evident that the boy, John, who was feeble, was an incumbrance and hindrance in their flight, and he was tomahawked and scalped in his mother's presence; and left by the wayside. Two days later, little Peggy, the babe, was brained against a tree. Arriving at one of the Indian towns on the Scioto, they heard of the death of some of their warriors, who had been killed in some engagement with the whites in Kentucky, and they determined, in council, that two of these prisoners should be burned at the stake, in retaliation. This terrible doom fell to the lot of Mrs. Moore and her eldest daughter, Jane — a pretty and interesting girl of sixteen. They were tied to stakes, in the presence of the remaining daughter and sister, and Miss Evans, and a vast crowd of exulting savages, slowly and cruelly tortured, after the manner of the fiendish race, with fire-brands and burning splints of pine, etc., until death a now welcome friend, an angel of mercy and a messenger of peace came to release them from their persecutors and their agonizing sufferings. Can pity lead to inflicting pain? Can kindness kill? Can mercy commit murder? Aye, even so, under some circumstances. What tender mercy it would have been in Simon Girty to shoot Colonel Crawford, as he piteously begged him to do, to end his fiery tortures. What cruelty it was not to kill him. In this case, an old hag of a squaw, with the feeble spark of humanity that survived in her savage breast kindled to a glow, and being surfeited by the excessive tortures and sufferings of Mrs. Moore, in gentle mercy and the kindness of her heart, gave the final coup de grace to Mrs. Moore, with a hatchet, thus shortening somewhat her already protracted

agonies. Mary Moore remained some years a prisoner among the Indians, and during the latter part of her stay with a white family, who treated her far more cruelly than the Indians. In September, 1784, two years prior to the circumstances above related, James Moore, Jr., aged fourteen — eldest son of the above mentioned Captain James Moore — had been captured near his father's home, in Abb's valley, by a small party of these Indians, passing through, composed of the Black Wolf, his son and one other, and taken, first, to the Shawanee towns of Ohio, and afterwards to the Maumee settlements in Michigan, and, still later sold to a white family at or near Detroit. Hearing, through Indian channels, of the terrible fate of his father's family, and that his sister Mary was a captive, not very far from him, he managed to communicate with her, first by message and, afterward in person, and to comfort her. In October, 1789, James and Mary Moore, and Miss Martha Evans, were all ransomed by their friends, and restored to relatives in the valley of Virginia where James Moore, Sr., and wife, and Miss Evans had been reared. James Moore, Jr., not long after, returned to Abb's valley, where he lived, and reared a family, and died, in 1851, in the eighty-first year of his age, and where his son, a venerable and honored citizen, now eighty-eight, still owns and occupies, in peace and happiness, the possessions secured to him and his descendants by the blood and tears of his ancestors. Mary Moore married a distinguished Presbyterian minister, Rev. John Brown, of Rockbridge county, and was the mother of a large family, five or six of whom became Presbyterian ministers; one of whom, the late Rev. James Brown, D. D., whose memory is warmly cherished by all the older citizens of this place (Charleston, W. Va.) was for a quarter of a century, pastor of the first Presbyterian church of this city. Dr. James Brown had but two sons who attained their majority; both were Presbyterian ministers. The eldest, Rev. Samuel Brown, died at his pastorate in Greenbrier county, in early life. The younger, Rev. John Brown, is, and has been for a number of years, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Malden, Kanawha county. Many years ago, Dr. James Brown, discovering unusual sprightliness in a poor and friendless Irish boy, took him home with him, and in the kindness of his heart, reared and educated him with his own sons. This (then) poor lad became the late distinguished Rev. Dr. Stuart Robinson, D. D., LL. D., who achieved a national reputation as a successful teacher, eloquent preacher and able author. The story of the sufferings of James Moore and family, and especially of the survivor, Mary Moore, was very touchingly told by the late Rev. James Brown, her son, in a little volume called "The Captives of Abb's Valley," published some forty years ago, and which is well remembered by our elderly citizens.

From this little volume, chiefly, the foregoing sketch is condensed. There is another incident connected with the murder and capture of Captain Moore's family which is of interest enough to be perpetuated, especially as it illustrates a fact often mentioned by the early pioneers—that is: that civilized (?) horses have a very strong antipathy to Indians. They scent them at a distance, and show their displeasure and fear by snorting, pawing, etc., and will flee, if they can. After the murders and captures, the Indians proceeded to appropriate the horses, as a matter of course. Captain Moore had a fine black horse called Yorick—a very powerful and a very vicious horse. He was controllable enough by Captain Moore, and by Simpson, who had attended him, but he would let no one else ride him or handle him. One of the Indians, in attempting to mount him, was knocked down and pawed, and killed or crippled; a second one tried it with the same result, when the leader of the party, a very determined and very powerful man, declared that he would ride him or kill him; he mounted him, but was no sooner on than off, and, while down, the horse sprang upon him and, with hoofs and teeth, killed him before he could recover his feet; whereupon the other Indians shot and stabbed the horse to death, after which they buried the large Indian close to the stable and departed. Dr. Brown does not mention this incident in his narrative, but the writer has taken the pains to ask of Mr. William Moore, by letter, what he knows or believes about the tradition. He says he has reason to believe that it is substantially true, and that when his father, Mr. James Moore, the captive, returned to Abb's valley, he plowed up, in plowing his fields, near the old stable, a skeleton of unusual size, which was believed to be that of the large man killed by the horse. It is known that the leader of the several parties who captured Thomas Ingles' family, in Burke's Garden, in 1782, captured James Moore, Jr., in 1784, and destroyed the family of James Moore, Sr., in 1786, was named Black Wolf. As he is not afterward heard of along the borders, it is strongly probable that it was the veritable Black Wolf whose career had been so ingloriously terminated by the horse Yorick; and this suggests the probable identity of Black Wolf and Wolf, the son of Cornstalk. Cornstalk had a son called Wolf, who went to Williamsburg with Lord Dunmore, after the treaty at Camp Charlotte, ostensibly, as a hostage, with other Indians, but more likely, really, to be manipulated in the interest of Dunmore and the English against the colonies. When Gov. Dunmore fled, the Indians returned to their wilderness homes. There is no recorded after history of Wolf, unless it be as Black Wolf, who had just the huge physical frame and bold, daring traits of character that we should expect a son to inherit from such a father. This, of course, is not history, but simply conjecture, based upon reasonable probabilities.

CHAPTER VII.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

REBECCA DAVIDSON — HUNTING IN “YE OLDEN TIME” — HOW THE SPORT WAS ARRANGED — EXCITEMENT AND DANGERS — “BUCK AGUE” — THE INGLES FAMILY CLOCK — TICKING FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS — MORALIZING ON “YE GRANDFATHER’S” TIME PIECE — A CENTURY’S CHANGES — CONTRAST BETWEEN NOW AND THEN — PICTURE OF PLANTATION LIFE.



EARLY three years after the destruction of Captain James Moore's family, and about the time of the recovery, from captivity, of James Moore, Jr., and his sister Mary, the family of one of their former neighbors, Andrew Davidson, were the victims of another raid of the Indians into that region. The family of Mr. Davidson consisted of himself and wife, Rececca, two little girls and a little boy, and two bound children, a girl and boy. Andrew Davidson himself had gone on a trip down to the Shenandoah valley; during his absence, there being no male protector about his house, the Indians suddenly made their appearance, and, in broken English, told Mrs. Davidson she and her family must go with them. This was a terrible fate, under any circumstances, but to Mrs. Davidson, it was especially painful and trying, as she was about to become a mother; this, however, was no valid excuse in their eyes. Go she must, whatever the suffering to her. She undertook to carry her little boy, less than two years old; seeing that it was too much for her, the Indians took it from her. She expected to see them kill it before her eyes, but was greatly relieved when, instead, they carried it along, good-naturedly, for her. Somewhere on the route, nature's period being probably somewhat hastened by the unusual physical exertion and mental anxiety, Mrs. Davidson introduced to this world of suffering and sorrow the little expected stranger. Both mother and babe were spared, for the time being; but the circumstance was not allowed to interfere with the progress of the journey. Fortunately for Mrs. Davidson, she enjoyed remarkably fine physical health and strength, unenervated by the inactive life and luxurious habits of the ladies of this day; she was equal to the emergency, and resumed the journey, next morning, with the babe in her arms. After a day

or two, the infant became ill and troublesome, when one of the Indians coolly took it from her and pitched it into Tug river and drowned, together, the little life and its sorrows and sufferings, so inauspiciously begun, regardless of the anguish of the sorrowing mother. When they arrived at the Indian towns, her two little girls, to her great horror, were tied to trees and shot to death, for sport. The little two-year-old boy was given to an old squaw, who started away with him in a canoe, which, by some means, was upset and the little fellow drowned. The two bound children were separated from her, and were never afterward heard of by her. Two years after this, Andrew Davidson visited the Indian towns in Ohio, in search of his wife; he found some of those who had participated in her capture; they told him she was alive, but would not tell him where she was. Next year, they sent him word that she was somewhere in Canada; so he started again in search of her. In passing a comfortable farmhouse, in Canada, about noon one day, he stopped to get some dinner, and, while waiting for the meal, a woman passed him, and seemed to examine him very critically; but, as he was deeply absorbed with the thoughts of his wife, and anxious for his dinner, he paid no attention to her. She went on to where the lady of the house (her mistress) was, and said to her, excitedly: "I know who that man is," and, rushing back into his presence, and throwing herself into his arms, cried out: "Andrew Davidson, I am your wife!" And so she was; but, oh, what changes her grief and sorrows had wrought! She was looking thin and haggard, and her once black and glossy hair had turned snowy white, though she was but a young woman. What happiness! and what sorrow! They were at last restored to each other; but, alas! their little children were all gone. The gentleman with whom Mrs. Davidson was living proved to be a humane man; he gave her up without ransom or reward, and voluntarily contributed to the expense of her return home, though he had paid the Indians a high price for her. They returned to their home, where they lived to rear another family. The Davidsons were related to the Peerys, a prominent family of the Clinch settlement. The Peerys were intermarried with the Crocketts, one of the most numerous families of southwest Virginia, and the Crocketts and Ingles and Draper families were intermarried. Mrs. Ingles and Mrs. Davidson knew each other well. With what thrilling interest they must have compared notes and discussed their painful captive experiences!

William Ingles (the elder) died at Ingles' Ferry, in the prime of life, in the fall of 1782, aged fifty-three. Col. William Christian and Col. Daniel Trigg were the executors of his will, and received 346 acres of Burke's Garden land for their services. Mrs. Mary Ingles, his widow, lived to a ripe old age, dying at

Ingles' Ferry in February, 1815, in her eighty-fourth year. She retained a large amount of physical vigor and mental clearness to the last. Mrs. Gov. John Floyd, who lived near her and knew her well, writing about her in 1843, speaks of meeting her (Mrs. Ingles) at a religious association, or convention, which she had attended on horseback, thirty miles from home, when past eighty. Her step was then still elastic, her figure erect, and her complexion florid and healthy, though her hair was white as snow. The old lady delighted, in her later years, to tell over to her children and grandchildren, the story of her terrible captivity and wonderful escape.

One of the children of John Ingles and Margaret, the late Mrs. Malinda Charlton, an aged and venerable lady, recently deceased, in her eighty-fifth year, was the last surviving grandchild of William and Mary Ingles. She was, to the last, clear in mind, and enjoyed a fair state of health and physical preservation. She remembered her grandmother well, having lived in the same house with her from her own infancy until the death of the old lady, in 1815. To her remarkable memory we are indebted for many facts and incidents related in the foregoing sketches of the family. She was a wonderful connecting link between the past and the present — the old and the new — bringing down the days of her grandmother to those of her own grandchildren, the two lives spanning the great time of more than a century and a half, from the birth of her grandmother, Mary Draper, at Philadelphia, in 1732, nearly to the present writing, in 1890, and she (Mrs. Charlton), but recently deceased. What wonderful changes the world has witnessed in these 154 years! What a wonderful fact, that a person so recently living should have known, and remembered the first white woman (at least, of English descent) ever between the Alleghenies and the Pacific; and that woman her own grandmother!

In illustration of the customs of half a century and more ago, it may not be without interest to describe here an old-time "family fall hunt," an institution now obsolete in this part of the world, and even the recollections of which are fast fading away. In those days game was very abundant, and the fall hunt was one of the events of the year. It was looked forward to for months in advance with pleasurable anticipations, by old and young, male and female. About 1830 and earlier, Col. John Ingles, son of William and Mary, owned large boundaries of wild land on the "Little river" herein above mentioned, and Reed Island creek, tributaries of the upper New river, and had a hunting station between them, on "Greasy creek," a tributary of the latter. There were several log cabins on the premises, for the accommodation of the hunters. A trusted family of old servants lived here to take care of the place, raise poultry and fruit, and

keep bees for honey. About September, invitations would be sent out for twenty or thirty friends, male and female, in several neighboring counties. Out of these, probably a dozen or twenty would attend, of whom about one-third, usually, would be ladies, married and single. Most of the party would rendezvous at Ingles' Ferry, and go together from there; others would join the company at the camp. At the appointed time one or more wagons would start out with bedding, linen, etc., cooking utensils, table-ware, table comforts, some medicinal liquors, a few extra guns and necessary ammunition for those who might come without their own; a keeper of the hounds, with a large pack of dogs, necessary cooks, hostlers, etc., a banjo and a fiddle, a pack of cards and a few books or magazines for the ladies, and the outfit was complete. Arrived upon the ground, and the comfort of the ladies looked after, the first day's hunt would be planned by the old campaigners, choosing the ground over which they should hunt, and allotting to each his separate duty — some to follow the hounds, some to still-hunt, and others to be posted at the well known "stands" where the deer were sure to pass the gaps or ridges, or cross the streams. This done, all would retire to an early rest, to dream of the exciting pleasures of the morrow's hunt. In those days, there was a famous gun-maker in the neighborhood, named Spangler, who was a born mechanic, and had acquired great skill and achieved great reputation in his art. He was the second or third of the name, in line, who had followed the business. No hunter for many counties around considered his hunting outfit complete, or creditable, unless he had a rifle with the Spangler brand on it. They were plain, old-fashioned rifles, with flint-locks, but wonderfully accurate. Before day the keeper of the hounds would sound his horn, which would set all the dogs howling, making longer sleep impossible, and arouse everybody on the place. Breakfast would be ready by daylight, and, by the time that was over, horses were saddled and ready, and "all hands" were off for the stands or the chase. One half of the dogs would be taken out, and the remainder left in the kennel, and thus alternated day by day, having each day fresh dogs. It was a disappointment if at least one or more deer or bear were not killed each day, beside turkeys, pheasants, etc. The party would return to the camp about four or five o'clock, depending on the distance, the luck, etc. By the time all were in, and washed and ready, a royal game dinner, smoking hot, would be served, probably supplemented by apple dumplings and honey in the comb, all seasoned by that best of all sauces, a sharp appetite. During and after dinner, the gentlemen would recount the adventures of the day, and plan the hunt for the morrow, after which there might be a game of cards, some music by Sambo, and a little quiet courting among the young folks, if the

proper parties happened to be present. After an early rest and refreshing sleep, all would be ready to renew the pleasures of the chase on the following day; and so on, successively, for a week, or ten days, or two weeks, depending upon the weather, the success of the hunt and the congeniality of the company. In these everglades and cranberry meadows on the western slopes of the Blue ridge, where droves of deer and other game then roved at will, unmolested save by these fall hunts, once a year, are now settlements, farms and family habitations, and the game and the exciting sport of the chase are gone forever. In the writer's youth he attended one of the last, if not, indeed, the very last, of these formal family fall hunts, of the order above described. Here he experienced the first touch of the malady termed by the old nimrods "buck ague"—not very fatal, usually, at either end of the gun, but violent and exciting while it lasts. There were, on the occasion mentioned, about a dozen and a half persons present, several of them ladies, married and single. The writer was the youngest person in the party, and is now, save one other, the only survivor. All the others have gone over to the happy—or rather, let us hope, the *happier*—hunting ground beyond.

Beside the writer the old Ingles' family clock now stands ticking. As early as he can remember anything, he remembers the slow, measured tick, tick, tick, of this rare old clock, and the sonorous, silvery notes of its musical bell. And so it has ticked and struck, and counted off the fleeting hours, year after year, for generation after generation. According to the family tradition, the clock was constructed about 1738, and has been running since that time, and is now consequently, over a century and a half old. Its early history, before the time of William and Mary Ingles, is not now accurately known, but after this time it is quite clear, and is identified with the family history. It probably ticked for Thomas Ingles (the immigrant) and his children. It certainly ticked for William and Mary Ingles and their children. It ticked for John Ingles and his children. It ticked for his daughter and her children. It is now ticking for the present owner (J. P. H.), a great-grandson of William and Mary Ingles. The clock is a handsome piece of furniture, has a black walnut case, silvered face, brass works, is eight feet high, runs eight days, records the hours, minutes and seconds, the days of the month and changes of the moon, and bids fair to do duty for an indefinite time in the future as an accurate and reliable time-keeper. From the early date of the Ingles and Draper settlement west of the Alleghenies, it is safe to assume that this remarkable old clock was the *first* that ever crossed the Alleghenies, and was the first in all that vast territory between the Allegheny mountains and the Pacific ocean to tick and tell

of the passing moments which, hitherto, through all past time, had glided by unheeded, unmeasured and unrecorded. This clock suggests some curious and interesting reflections to those inclined to indulge themselves in that way. If every tick records the departure of a soul from this world, as is claimed, then think of the millions of millions of humans that have played their brief parts on the stage of life and passed on since this clock began its monotonous ticking! Think of how many mighty rulers, kings and emperors, have reigned, clothed with brief authority, and gone their way! What dynasties, great and small, have arisen and gone down! What changes in the maps of the World! What progress in art, science, education, general enlightenment and human comfort! Look at the changes that have occurred in our own country—then but a scattered British colony along the Atlantic slope, now a grand republic, the pride of its citizens and the admiration of the world, extending from ocean to ocean, with nearly sixty-five millions of enlightened people, and with more population now, within a radius of five miles around Trinity steeple, New York, than in the whole country “when this old clock was new.” It is not possible, of course, to tell how long this clock may continue to run, but it is in good and sound condition, and, if it should meet with no disaster or violent end, there is no good reason why it should not last another 150 years, or more. It is a curious thought, and not without sadness, that of all the millions and millions of living beings on earth when this clock ticked its first second, and rang out its first hour, not one is left to bear witness; and whatever other changes may come in the future, it is safe to say that every soul and every living creature now on earth will have fulfilled its destiny here and gone hence, and their places been filled by countless millions yet unborn, before this old clock ceases to measure, tick by tick, the tiny seconds that go to make up the years and the ages as time rolls on!

In writing the foregoing sketches, the writer has often had occasion to think of the wonderful changes that have occurred in the condition of the world, not only since the Pioneer-Trans-Allegheny-Draper-Meadows-Ingles-Ferry settlements of nearly a century and a half ago, but of the even more rapid progress that has been made within the much shorter time of his own life and recollections—say within a period of about sixty years. So much has he been struck and impressed by a review of the rapid advances of this rapidly advancing age, that he is led to believe that a retrospective glance over the period would astonish, interest and, possibly instruct very many persons who have not had occasion or happened to give the subject special thought. To aid them in such a retrospect he will present, from his own recollections, a short sketch of the condition of every

day life existing in a rich, prosperous and representative agricultural and grazing community, in the upper New river valley, at the time indicated, and will enumerate some of the many items and instances of progress and advance in all the needs, uses and operations of man which scientific invention and discovery have given to them, and to the world at large, within the time named, and let each reader, for himself, compare the past with the present, the old with the new, and each for himself decide whether or not "the good old times" were better than the new.

A large proportion of the families in the region above alluded to — now Montgomery and Pulaski counties, Va. — were, at the time indicated, wealthy or well-to-do, and largely engaged in cultivating the soil and stock-raising, living upon the fat of the land, very independently and very much within themselves; none the less happy and contented, perhaps, because they lacked the innumerable conveniencies and luxuries of this later day, so many of which now seem to us indispensable. Each family had among its servants trained and skilled mechanics — a blacksmith to shoe horses, "upset" the old-fashioned plows, iron the wagons and carts, repair the farm utensils, and other promiscuous work; the carpenter would build and repair the houses, barns, etc., and make or mend the wagons, carts, wheel-barrows, water-pails, butter-ferkins, etc., the shoemaker would make and mend the shoes worn by all the family, white and black. The female servants were all taught to sew, spin and knit, and a certain number of them were taught weaving. On every large estate, the blacksmith's and carpenter's shop, the shoemaker's shop and the loom house were as invariable as the dwelling house, the barn and the crib. The servant women spun and wove linen goods for summer, and woolen flannels and jeans for winter wear; also, nice bedquilts, counterpanes, etc., and the hosiery was knitted by the older women. There were fulling mills near, that "fulled" and dyed the woolen goods. They made a beautiful black jeans, then much worn by men and boys. The mistress of the house was generally expert in cutting garments, for white and black; and, when so cut, the females, white and black, would make them up by hand sewing. They raised their geese and made their own feather-beds and pillows. These farmers raised their own hogs and cured their own bacon for the year. They had beef and mutton, poultry and eggs, butter and cheese, milk and honey, fruit and vegetables, without stint. They never thought of buying any of these things, but sold or bartered their surplus for their sugar, coffee, tea, etc. They never sold fruit, vegetables, etc., to their neighbors, but divided freely with those who needed. Most of them distilled their own peach and apple brandies, and enjoyed an apple-jack toddy, or "peach and

honey." These were kept on the side-board and offered to all comers. The ladies made a nice domestic wine from currants. Every fall, each farmer would send his team to the Washington County Salt works for the year's supply of salt, and land plaster for manure. In season, a stock of wood was provided for winter fires, the winter apples were put up, peaches and apples dried, fruits preserved, the cider and apple-butter made, and honey taken for winter use. They made their own alkali by leaching wood ashes, and made their own soap from this alkali and the kitchen greases. They made a delicious lie hominy by steeping new corn, in whole grains, in this strong alkali, to remove the outer bran. They also made cracked hominy with home-made hominy mortar and pestle. They raised their own hemp, spun their own twine and twisted their own ropes, for all domestic uses. Flax was raised, retted, broken, scutched, hackled, spun, woven, cut, made and worn, at home. Wool was raised, carded, spun, woven or knitted, dyed, made and worn, at home. Servants were allowed private patches, in which they raised their own tobacco, watermelons and some vegetable, and, the more provident, a pig or two and some chickens. In those days, a few tomatoes, then called "love apples," were raised in gardens, as curiosities, but were not eaten. The days of canned fruits and vegetables, fish and meats, had not yet arrived. Patent butter, made from tallow or lard, was not then known; the honest cow still held the monopoly of the butter trade. Horseshoes and horseshoe nails, now made by machinery, were then all made by hand. The modern patent plows and steam plows were not then made. Grain was cut with sickle or cradle, and threshed with the flail or by horses' feet. The patent mowers, reapers, threshers, corn-planters, corn-shellors, and the long list of modern agricultural implements, had not yet taken form in the inventive brains of those who were destined to bless the world with them, and enrich themselves. The travel of those days was mostly by horseback, or private vehicles, or stage-coaches and canal-boats. There were no railroads then, no telegraphs, telephones, microphones, photophones, autophones, etc. No bicycles, no roller skates, no patent spring rubber bottle-stoppers. Therewere no modern buggies then, and no elliptical steel springs for wheeled vehicles. Private carriages, like stages, were hung on leather belts or bands. There were no lever brakes for wagons and carriages. Wheels had to be dead-locked by looped chains. There were no screw-propellers in steam navigation; no sternwheel boats, and but few of any sort. Photography was then unknown. Portraits and miniatures were painted in oil, or sketched with crayons. There were no chromos then, or other cheap pictures; no aniline dyes, no illustrated daily papers. The number of periodicals then published was but a beggarly list as compared with to-day. Percus-

sion caps, needle-guns, fixed ammunition, modern revolvers, breach loaders, gatling and magazine guns, were yet unknown. The flint-lock rifle was then the standard small arm, and its accompaniments were the shot-pouch (generally made out of wild-cat, panther or deer skin), bullet-molds and a carved powder-horn, and, with these, a leather belt and a butcher-knife. There were no rifle nor long-ranged cannon, no armor-plated ships, no torpedo boats, no dynamite, gun-cotton or nitro-glycerine; no monitors, no sub-marine armor, no ocean cables, no suspension bridges, no elevated or underground railways, no pneumatic tubes. The cotton gin was not yet invented. Cotton-seed oil was not made. Lard oil was not known, Peruvian guano and South Carolina phosphates were not discovered, and chemical fertilizers were not manufactured.

There were no deep-well boring tools, no diamond core-drills, no deep-sea soundings.

The gulf streams and ocean currents were not then understood. The atmospheric laws and movements were not then known and charted. "Old Probs," with his weather predictions and records, had not yet come to the front. Geology and chemistry were then in their infancy. Improved telescopes, have, since then, made vast progress in astronomical discovery and knowledge. The spectroscope, then unknown, has revealed the secrets of the far distant fixed stars and nebulae. The microscope has opened up a new world of wonders in the opposite direction. The little bacillus "comma," recently discovered by it, may yet be brought to a "full stop," and the cholera scourge with it. Inoculation for rabies was not yet tried. Darwin's evolution theory, now generally accepted by the intelligent, had not then been broached. The northwest Arctic passage had not then been sailed through, and thus demonstrated. Livingstone and Stanley had not yet opened up the geographical and race mysteries of Central Africa. The South African diamond fields were then unknown. The California and Australia gold mines, Colorado silver mines, Lake Superior copper mines and the Missouri Iron mountain, were then undiscovered. Sodium, potassium, aluminum, and other metals and metalloids and their alloys, were unknown. There were then no "jetties" to scour out river mouths, and no adjustable dams for river navigation improvement. There were no steam fire engines, no Holly water system, no steam drills for tunnel boring, no Thames tunnel, no Alpine tunnels for railroads, no railroads for tunnels. There was then no wood paper pulp, no paper twine, no paper bags, no paper collars, no paper car wheels, no wall-paper, no parchment paper for records, no paper-mache. Probably the first paper mill west of the Alleghenies and south of Mason's and Dixon's line, was erected in "'Possum Hollow," between

Ingles' Ferry and Draper's valley. There were no circular saws, no band saws, nor patent log turners for saw mills. There were no steam pressure brick machines, no steel wire-lines, no time-locks for bank safes, no elevators nor enunciators for hotels, no aneroid barometers, no anemometers, no self-registering thermometers, no electrical clocks, no water-tube safety boilers, no hard-brick, board-floor street paving, no Nicholson blocks, asphalt or Belgium-block street-paving, no wood or iron planing machines, no gimblet-pointed screws, no coal-digging machines. There were then no postal stamps, no postal cards, no postal money orders, no envelopes, no blotting paper. The letter was folded, tucked in and stuck with a wafer, or with sealing-wax. The ink was dried with a dark sand, instead of blotting paper. The writing was done with goose-quill pens; steel and gold pens were yet unknown. There were no type-writers, no manifold writers, no fountain pens, no indelible pencils. The postage on a letter was 25 cents, 18¾ cents, etc., prepaid or "C. O. D." Slavery had not then been abolished in America. The Russian serfs had not been emancipated. The African slave trade had not been interdicted by the civilized powers. Universal suffrage and free schools had not been adopted in the United States. Since then Uncle Sam has enlarged his domains by a strip of territory extending from the gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, from Texas to California inclusive, and another Pacific strip from the British line to the frozen oceans. Our population was then but 10,000,000, and is now about 65,000,000. There were then no friction matches, or Lucifers as called when first made, and afterward "Locofoco" matches. Gentlemen who smoked carried "sun glasses" in their vest pockets, and concentrated the sun's rays to light their pipes; and, in the absence of sunshine, resorted to "flint and steel" (usually a jack-knife and a gun flint), and a piece of punk. The currency, at that day, was reckoned more by pounds, shillings and pence (£ s. d.) than in dollars and cents, but it was based upon the Virginia standard of 16⅔ cents to the shilling. "Uncle Sam" had not then coined the smaller decimal currency. There were no nickels or dimes, but, instead, 6¼ and 12½ cent pieces, called "fourpence-ha'penny" and "ninepence" respectively; 25 cents was "18 pence;" 50 cents was "three shillings," 62½ cents was "three and ninepence," 75 cents was "four and sixpence," \$1.60 was "nine shillings," \$2.50 was "15 shillings," etc. In some places the 12½ cent piece was called a "bit," in others a "levy," and, farther south, the 6¼ cent piece was called a "picayune." Greenbacks were then unknown, and many have but a slight acquaintance with them yet, Quinine was unknown. Bromine and the bromides were not yet made. Anæsthetics were not yet introduced. If one had to have a tooth pulled, or a leg sawed off, he had to "grin and bear it," taking

the pain in the old-fashioned way. Calomel and jalap, opium and ipecac, bark and the lancet, were the standard remedies of the doctors in those days. The Thompsonian remedies, Nos. 1 to 6, were much in vogue with the quacks. The modern great patent medicine trade was not then developed. The pedagogues of that day prescribed and administered "oil of birch" with great freedom. Parties differed as to the "happy effects" according to the stand-point from which the subject was considered. The preachers prescribed caloric and sulphur with a reckless disregard to economy. Sanitary measures were then less perfectly understood and practiced, and the average duration of human life was considerably less than at present. For lights at night, the common dependence was upon the home-made tallow-dips, with accompanying candlestick and snuffers; and, for a better light, the wax or the spermaceti candle. Star candles were not yet known, and petroleum and coal-oil lamps were far in the future. There were no gas lights (New York was the first lighted with gas, in 1827), no gas engines, no electric lights, no electric motors. There were no street railroads, no horse-cars. Modern cook stoves and ice machines were alike unknown. There were no baking-powders, no patent yeast-cakes. Gas-well fuel was unknown. There were no India-rubber or gutta-percha goods. Jute fiber was not yet utilized. The long lists of patent churns and washing machines were not yet invented. There were no steam tanneries, no steam pumps, no steam hammers, no drawn or lap-welded tubes, no turning-lathes for shoe-last, axe-handles, and other irregular forms, no electro-plated goods, no sand-blast carving or glass-cutting, no four-pronged silver table forks, no silver-plated knives. There were no cotton compresses, no grain elevators, no coal elevators. No beet root sugar, sorghum molasses, nor glucose; no rolling mills, no iron, steel or paper hulls for boats, no iron or steel bridges, no iron house-fronts, iron roofs iron mantels, iron bank safes, iron power-punches and shears, no metallic coffins, no machine-made barrels, no steam-cut nor cylinder-sawed barrel staves, no roller-process flour. Wood was the domestic fuel of the country. Iron was melted with charcoal. Anthracite was but just discovered. Coke was not yet manufactured. The world's fairs and national expositions, those great educators, had not yet been inaugurated. Sewing machines had not yet come in response to the "Song of the Shirt" and the wail of the women. "Home, Sweet Home" and "Dixie" had not then been composed and sung; "The Star-Spangled Banner" was but newly written and sung, and "Hail Columbia" was not old. Knitting machines, spinning jennies and power-looms had not yet appeared. Lager beer had not then tickled the throats of the thirsty. Spring-bed mattresses were unknown luxuries. Mosquito bars were equally unknown. Modern extension din-

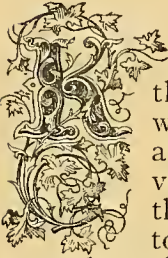
ning-tables and adjustable reclining chairs were not known. Wooden shoe-pegs were not yet made, nor pegged shoes nor metal-tipped shoes. There were no "incline" tracks and passenger cars in use for elevated sites, like those up the Cincinnati hills. There were no steam whistles to torture human tympanums; no steam calliope music; no steam radiators for warming buildings. In the matter of dress there have been striking changes, as in other things. Ladies' dresses, and the styles and fashions thereof, come and go, changing often; as the new becomes old, the old becomes new again. The writer is not learned in the mysteries of ladies' wear and fashions. He only knows that the ladies are all pretty, and that they lend beauty and charm to the fashions. Gentlemen's styles change more slowly. Many elderly gentlemen at the time mentioned, still wore queues, ruffled shirts, knee-breeches and long stockings, knee and shoe buckles, etc. Pantaloon were then made with a square flap in front, instead of the up and down seam, as now. Gentlemen's every-day wear was home-made jeans; the formal dress was "broadcloth." There were then no button gaiters, nor patent-leather boots and shoes. Spotted calico shirts, and celluloid cuffs and collars, and even detached linen cuffs and collars were not then worn, or known, by the young bloods. Pins and needles were still made by hand; cloth-covered buttons were unknown; hooks and eyes were largely used by the ladies, instead of buttons.

This seems a formidable list, though it is far from exhaustive, and could easily be very greatly extended; but this is enough to show what tremendously progressive strides the world has taken within a lifetime, and to excite the wonder of the present generation as to how former generations got along without the comforts, conveniences and luxuries which we now take "as a matter of course," and enjoy unthoughtedly and unthankfully. Will the world continue to advance as it has done? is a question often asked. That continued and rapid progress will still be made seems certain; but that the next or any future sixty years will witness as wonderful a forward bound as the last sixty—which has grown largely out of the unparalleled development of steam and electricity—may well be doubted; although, in view of the infinite mysteries and resources of nature to be discovered, explored and developed, and the, as yet, unknown limit of the power and scope of the human mind to grapple them, it becomes us to be very modest and conservative in limiting our predictions as to future progress. "He is a very bold man," said the wise Frenchman, "who dares to pronounce the word *impossible*."

CHAPTER VIII.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

DANIEL BOONE — CAREER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS PIONEER — HIS LIFE IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY — BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT — ITS FAR REACHING IMPORTANCE — EVENTS LEADING THERETO — FORCES ENGAGED — THE INDIAN SIDE — OUTRAGES THAT INFURIATED THEM — GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE CONFLICT.



KANAWHA VALLEY was for about twelve years the residence of that remarkable man, Daniel Boone, who deserves more than a mere passing notice, especially as it is not well known to the public, and not now very generally known even here. A few years ago the writer published, in pamphlet form, a short history of his residence in this valley, and will here give a condensed sketch from facts therein contained. His biographers, of whom there are half a dozen or more, devote themselves to his wonderful Kentucky experiences, from 1769 to about 1785, after which they seem to know but little about him, although he lived for thirty odd years after leaving Kentucky. His Kanawha experiences are disposed of in a paragraph or two, to the effect that, about 1792, he settled for a time in Western Virginia, and about 1797 went to Missouri, etc. Instead of in 1792, he probably settled at the mouth of the Kanawha as early as 1786, as there is a deed for land in Kentucky, signed and acknowledged by himself and wife, at Point Pleasant, Va., April 28, 1786, and on record in Fayette county, Ky. While at Point Pleasant, tradition says, he lived on the bank of Crooked Creek, made famous by the battle of the Point. Elderly persons at the point still remember the log cabin, now long gone, in which he is said to have lived. It is supposed that he moved up to this neighborhood about 1788 or '89, and, while here, lived on the south side of the river, nearly opposite the original salt spring, Dr. L. C. Draper, LL. D., who has in preparation and, it is hoped, will shortly publish, an exhaustive biography of Boone, is inclined to think that his residence opposite the salt spring was not a settled family residence, but only a hunting camp, of which he had many. The local traditions here indicate that it was his regular family residence, and his son Jesse Boone, lived at the same place until

about 1816. When the writer came to the county, in 1840, there were still living old men who had hunted and trapped with him; one of them, Mr. Paddy Huddlestone, related many interesting incidents of their joint hunting, trapping and camping experiences. The late Jared Huddlestone, son of Paddy, remembered well to have heard his father tell of his first acquaintance with Boone. A stranger, with rifle and pack, came to his father's (Paddy's) house one evening, about dusk, and asked to stay all night; he seemed tired, did not tell who he was, had but little to say, and soon retired to rest. Next morning, when the family got up for the usual early breakfast, the stranger, with his rifle, was out and gone, but his pack remained, indicating that he had not gone far. It was not long until he came in and got his breakfast, remarking that, as he was an early riser, he had been looking around a little to see if there were any signs of game about, and told them he had discovered fresh beaver signs near the house. He asked if they had any traps; they told him they had no beaver traps, but had a steel trap for catching foxes. "Well," said he to Paddy, "come, young man, get your trap and go with me, and I will show you how to catch beaver." The first day they caught five, and, within a few days, exterminated the colony—about a dozen in all. The steel trap is now in the possession of the writer. The sign which Boone had found was two saplings cut down from a triangle of them, and the beavers had commenced on the third sapling, which, to-day, is a red oak tree, about two feet in diameter, standing at the upper end of Long Shoal, a few miles below the Kanawha Falls. On the 6th of October, 1789, Kanawha county was organized. Of the military organization Col. Samuel Lewis, brother of Gen. Andrew, was colonel, and Daniel Boone, lieutenant colonel. The county was entitled to two representatives in the legislature. The first year, George Clendenin, the founder of Charleston, and Andrew Donnelly, the defender of Donnelly's Fort, in Greenbrier, in 1778, were elected. The next year Daniel Boone and George Clendenin were elected. Boone went to Richmond and returned, on foot. Boone spent much of his time in surveying while here. Mr. T. A. Mathews, surveyor, relates that in re-running the lines of two surveys, of 100,000 acres each, running from the site of Boone C. H. to the Kentucky line, he finds the lines plainly marked, and the names of the party cut in the bark of the trees still legible; they were: "Daniel Boone, George Arnold, Edmund Price, Thomas Upton and Andrew Hatfield. 1795." A report of a survey in this valley made out by him, in his own handwriting, still clear and well preserved, is in the possession of the writer. The last survey made by Boone, before leaving the valley, was on September 8th, 1798; Daniel Boone, marker; Daniel Boone, Jr., and Mathias Van Bibber

chainmen, as shown by the surveyor's books. In one of Boone's hunting and trapping expeditions, up Gauley river, he brought back the top of a sprout of yew pine, an unusual growth, and hitherto unknown to him. He left the brush of pine needles to the end to show to his friends; when it had served this purpose, the end with the needles was cut off, leaving a nice walking-stick. When he left Kanawha, he gave this to his friend, "Tice" Van Bibber, and he left it to his son, David Van Bibber, but recently deceased at about ninety. The cane was presented to the writer a few years ago, and is now in his possession. "In an early day," exact date not known, the family of John Flinn, the earliest settlers on Cabin creek, this county, were attacked by Indians, and Flinn and wife killed. One daughter made her escape alone to Donnelly's fort, Greenbrier, and one daughter and son, Cloe and John, were captured by the Indians. The daughter, Cloe, was afterward rescued by Boone, and, being an orphan, was reared by Boone in his own family, so states Mr. St. Clair Ballard, her grandson, who was a member of the legislature from Logan county, in 1847. When it was proposed to form a new county from Kanawha and Logan, Mr. Ballard related the circumstances of this capture and recovery, and the generous action of Mr. Boone, and proposed, in personal gratitude, and by way of public acknowledgment to Boone, that the new county be called Boone, and his motion was carried by a unanimous vote. The son, John Flinn, who had escaped, or been rescued, was afterward recaptured by the Indians, going down the Ohio, with Skyles, May and Johnson, and burned at the stake. Jesse Boone, son of Daniel, was the first state salt inspector here, when salt was the dominant interest of this valley. His son, Col. Albert Gallatin Boone, himself a famous early explorer, true to the Boone instinct, in the far west, was born here. He was the first white man to camp on the present site of the city of Denver, in 1825. An examination of the old assessors' books of this county to see what property Daniel Boone had, when here, shows that he was not blessed, or cursed, with a large share of the world's goods. He was assessed for taxation with two horses, one negro and 500 acres of land; the land remained on the books in his name until 1803. Boone left here for Missouri in 1799. His starting was the occasion of the gathering of his friends and admirers, from all the region round about, to bid him a friendly adieu and God-speed. They came by land and water—on boats, by horseback and in canoes—and, at the final leave-taking, it is said there was many a dimmed eye and moistened cheek among those hardy, weather-beaten warriors, hunters and pioneers. Boone started from here by water, in canoes, embarking at the junction of Elk and Kanawha rivers. His friend and companion, Tice Van Bibber, went with him to Missouri, but returned to

Kanawha. Boone was never again in Kanawha, but twice returned to Kentucky, once to identify the beginning corner of an important survey, made some twenty or twenty-five years before, and again to liquidate some long-standing indebtedness which he had been unable to pay, owing to the loss of his lands by the gross wrong done him, or permitted, by the State of Kentucky and the general government. The final payment of these debts, which had so long borne upon and disturbed his peace of mind, was, by his own account, one of the happiest incidents and reliefs of his life. While he had but little, it was, he said, a consolation to know that he did not owe a dollar, and that no man could say he had ever wronged him out of a cent. Boone died at the house of his youngest son, Col. Nathan Boone, on the Feme-Osage river, Missouri, September 26, 1820. Col. Albert Gallatin Boone, his grandson, still living, told me, some years ago, that he was with him at the time, and says he passed off gently, after a short illness, almost without pain or suffering. Thus ended the mortal career of one of the most remarkable men the country has ever produced, leaving an imperishable name and fame to after ages. He stands out in history as the great type, model and exemplar of the pioneer, frontiersman, hunter, explorer, Indian fighter and pilot of civilization. His fame is secure forever, without the fear of a rival. The world does not now, and can never again, present an opportunity to duplicate or parallel his life and history. His praises have been sung in the glowing lines of Lord Byron (in "Don Juan"), and by the eloquent tongues and pens of Tom Marshall, Bryan, Flint, Bogart, Filson, Abbott and others, and the history of his wonderful adventures is read with thrilling interest in the mansions of the rich, and the humblest log cabins of the remotest west.

The battle of Point Pleasant, considered merely in relation to the numbers engaged, or the numbers slain, on either side, or both sides, was but an insignificant affair, compared with many of the conflicts of the revolution, which immediately followed, or the mighty shocks of arms of the late civil war; but, up to the time of its occurrence, it was the most evenly balanced, longest continued and desperately contested battle that had occurred in our western country, and its results were freighted with greater, more lasting and far-reaching effects than any other that had occurred. It was a pivotal turning-point, upon which hinged, in great measure, the future destinies of the country. The result of this battle was probably the determining weight in the scale of fortune, so evenly balanced, that decided the fate of the colonies in their struggle for independence. It is, indeed, generally considered, in view of the relations then existing between the colonies and the mother country, and the course pursued by the governor, as the initiatory battle of the revolution; and, by de-

moralizing the Indian tribes, checking for a time their aggressions on the western frontiers and their co-operation with the English, it gave the colonies, who were correspondingly encouraged by their success, time and better opportunities to concentrate their powers and efforts for the mighty struggle about to be, or already inaugurated. Instead of relating simply the isolated story of the fight at the Point, with which persons in this region are already more or less familiar, it may add to the general understanding of the battle and its relations, and a fuller appreciation of its extraordinary importance, to pass in review, briefly, and unincumbered by voluminous details, the long series of preceding steps that led up to, and prepared the way for, this event and the following revolutionary struggle. Beginning this outline review, it is well to go back to 1748, the date of the Ingles-Draper pioneer trans-alleggheny settlement, the first on western-flowing waters. At this time, the French occupied Canada and Louisiana, and, by virtue of the earlier discoveries of LaSalle, Marquette, and others, they were claiming the entire Mississippi and Ohio valleys, while Virginia claimed that her boundaries extended from ocean to ocean. The French, to make their claim to the Ohio valley more formal, sent a company of engineers down the Ohio, in 1749, with engraved leaden plates, which they planted at the mouths of prominent tributaries of the Ohio, claiming for the French crown all the lands drained by the respective streams. About the same time, the "Ohio Land Company," recently organized, was making a move to acquire and colonize 500,000 acres of lands lying along the Ohio, and the "Loyal Land Company" was organized, based upon a grant of 800,000 acres, lying north of the North Carolina line and west of the mountains and New river. In 1750-51, Christopher Gist was dispatched by the "Ohio Company" to examine and select desirable lands along the Ohio. The French, meanwhile, were establishing fortified trading posts, intending to have a chain of them from the lakes to the gulf. In 1753, when serious trouble seemed to be brewing between the French and English, the conflicting claimants of this vast western region, Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, dispatched George Washington, a then promising young man, who had been private surveyor of Lord Fairfax, official surveyor of Culpepper county, etc., on a tour of observation, with letters of inquiry and protest, addressed to the French commander on the upper Alleghany. Washington took with him John Davidson, Indian interpreter; Jacob Van Brahm, French interpreter; Christopher Gist as guide, and four attendants. He was courteously received at headquarters by the French commander, M. De St. Pierre, as a matter of course, but as positively as politely informed that they should maintain their claims to the country. Washington returned at once to Williamsburg, the then seat of government, and in his

report, which was printed, and copies of which were sent to England, he laid stress, among other things, upon the very eligible site for a fortification at the forks of the Ohio, which would command both streams.

In 1754, the "Ohio company" sent a force there, accompanied by a force of forty Virginia militia, under Lieut. Trent, sent by the state. Before their work was completed, the French commander, Capt. Contrecoeur, sent down a largely superior force, drove them off, took possession of their fort, built it stronger, and called it Fort De Quesne, after the governor of Canada. This was the overt act that launched the long and bloody French and English war which raged with violence on both continents for several years. Virginia immediately organized a large force, under Col. Joshua Fry and Lieut-Col. Washington, to recapture the position; Col. Fry dying, en route, the command devolved upon Col. Washington. The expedition resulted in the surprise of a party of French, under Capt. Joumondville, near the Great Meadows, in which the leader Capt. Joumondville, was killed, and all his party either killed or captured. Later, Washington was attacked at Fort Necessity, which he had hastily fortified, by a largely superior French force, and was obliged to capitulate. In the following year (1755), the English government sent over Gen. Braddock, with two regiments of English regulars to co-operate with the Virginia troops. This expedition ended in the disastrous defeat of Braddock's army, almost in sight of Fort Du Quesne, by the French and the Indian allies. In 1758, another and more formidable army was organized, under command of Gen. Forbes, who finally succeeded in capturing and holding Fort Du Quesne, and the following year, a formidable stronghold was built and called Fort Pitt, after the then English premier. The subsequent engagements between the English and French along the lakes and the St. Lawrence need not be followed here (being beyond the geographical limits treated of), except to state that, upon the capture of Quebec, the French finally surrendered, to the English, Canada and all their possessions and claims east of the Mississippi, thus terminating the long and bloody war—the final treaty of peace being ratified at Paris in 1763. The French were now out of the way of settlements, but their savage allies, whom they had instigated and encouraged to resist the encroachments of the whites upon their territory, were still there to dispute every advance upon their hunting grounds; and, although the march of settlement continued steadily westward, every pioneer trail was a trail of blood, and every pioneer family numbered among its members victims of the tomahawk and scalping knife. The expedition sent out from Fort Pitt in 1764, under Col. Bouquet, into the Indian country, resulted in

checking their atrocities for a time, in the recovery of over 300 white prisoners, mostly from the Virginia borders, and a treaty of peace, concluded with Sir William Johnson, the following year. This peace gave an impetus to Western emigration, and by 1772-73 settlements had reached the Ohio at several points, and the main tributary streams and their smaller branches.

Another serious and general colonial trouble was now brewing, growing out of the levying of taxes on the colonies by the mother country, for the expenses of the French and Indian wars, and for a standing army to protect them from the Indians. These and other measures the colonies considered unjust and onerous, and they protested against them with great earnestness and strong feeling. In this state of the case, it was charged that the English instigated the Indians to harass the western borders, so as to occupy the attention of the colonial forces in their protection, and thus prevent resistance to the oppressive measures contemplated by the English in the east. Early in the spring of 1774, it was evident that the Indians were combining for aggressive action. About this time, several murders were committed by both parties on the upper Ohio. A white man in a trading boat was killed by Indians, some distance above Wheeling creek; within a few days, early in April, Captain Michael Cresap and party killed two Indians, near Wheeling, in a canoe, and followed a larger party down the river, to about the mouth of Captina, where they were surprised in camp and nearly all killed. Within a few days, still in April, Daniel Greathouse and a party of whites attacked an encampment of Indians, about the mouth of Yellow creek, near Baker's house, opposite; after plying them with whisky, they were nearly all murdered. In these two Indian parties—at Captina and Yellow creek—some in each, were all of Logan's family, and they were all killed. Logan charged Captain Cresap with the murder of his kin at Yellow creek, but this is probably a mistake. He was undoubted responsible for the killing at Captina (whether justifiable or not, it is impossible to decide now), but it has been pretty conclusively shown that he was not present at the Yellow Creek massacre. About this time, Bald Eagle, an old and friendly Delaware chief, was wantonly murdered by some straggling whites, set up in his canoe, with a pipe in his mouth, and sent floating down the Monongahela, not the Kanawha, as stated by some. The Indians were terribly exasperated by these murders, and it was soon unmistakably evident that they meant to be avenged. Dr. Connally and Capt. Cresap sent messengers to Williamsburg to apprise the governor of the state of affairs. He dispatched Col. Angus McDonald, with four hundred Virginia militia, in June, to make an incursion into Indian territory, to occupy them at home and prevent their raid on border settle-

ments. Later, when the Indians seemed determined on a general border war, Connally and Cresap again communicated with the governor, who sent for Gen. Andrew Lewis, then a member of the House of Burgesses for Bottetourt county, to consult about a plan of campaign. It was decided that an army of two divisions should be organized as speedily as practicable—one to be commanded by Gen. Lewis, and the other by Lord Dunmore, in person. Gen. Andrew and his brother, Col. Charles, then a member from Augusta county, started at once to the valley of Virginia to get their army from Augusta, Bottetourt and Fincastle counties, while the forces of Gov. Dunmore were to be raised in Frederick, Dunmore (now Shenandoah) and adjacent counties. The governor dispatched Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to Kentucky, to notify the several surveying parties and the few land hunters and explorers then there; while from the Greenbrier region, Capt. John Stewart dispatched two runners—Philip Hammond and John Pryor—to warn the few settlers on Kanawha, from Kelly's creek to Campbell's creek, of the approaching danger. Gen. Lewis' army rendezvoused at camp Union (Lewisburg), about September 1st, and was to march from there to the mouth of Kanawha; while Gov. Dunmore was to go the northwest route, over the Braddock trail, by way of Fort Pitt, and thence down the Ohio river, and form a junction with Gen. Lewis at the mouth of Kanawha. The army of Gen. Lewis was made up as follows:

1. Regiment of Augusta troops, under Col. Charles Lewis, the captains being George Mathews (in whose company not a man was under six feet in height, and most of them over six feet two inches), Alexander McClannahan, John Dickinson, John Lewis (son of William), Benjamin Harrison, William Paul, Joseph Haynes and Samuel Wilson.

2. Botetourt regiment, under Col. William Fleming. The captains were Matthew Arbuckle, John Murray, John Lewis (son of Andrew), James Robertson, Robert McClannahan; James Ward and John Stewart (author of memoir, etc.)

3. An independent company of seventy men, under Col. John Field, raised by him in Culpepper county.

4. The force under Col. William Christian consisted of three independent companies, under captains Evan Shelby, William Russell and—Herbert, from the Holston, Clinch and New river settlements, then Fincastle county; a company of scouts under Capt. John Draper, of Draper's valley, an independent company under Capt. Thomas Buford, of Bedford county.

The aggregate strength of this southern division of the army was about eleven hundred; the strength of the northern division, under Lord Dunmore, was about fifteen hundred. On the 11th

of September, Gen. Lewis broke camp, and, with Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, an intelligent and experienced frontiersman, as pilot, marched through a pathless wilderness, making as they went, such road as was necessary to get the pack-horses, bearing ammunition and provisions, and their beef cattle over. Their route was by Muddy creek, Keeny's Knobs, Rich creek, Gauley, Twenty Mile, Bell creek and Kelly's creek, to Kanawha, and down Kanawha to the mouth, following the Indian trail at the base of the hills, instead of along the river bank, for the obvious reason that it was thus easier to cross or avoid the creeks and ravines. They reached the Point on the 30th day of September, after a fatiguing march of nineteen days. When Lewis' army started its march from camp Union for the mouth of Kanawha, Col. Field, who in previous service with Lewis in the northwest, had been the senior in command, now manifested some unwillingness to take position under Gen. Lewis, and as his company was an independent one, raised by himself outside of the state order for troops, and as he had recently twice passed through the wilderness, from camp Union to Kelly's creek and back, and knew something of its topography, he started out with his command by a route of his own; on the next or following day, however, two of his men, named Clay and Coward, strayed from the main body to hunt; they were attacked by two Indians, probably spies watching the movements of the army. Clay was shot and killed by one of them, while the other was killed by Coward. After this, Col. Field, acting with judicious discretion, joined the main body of the army, and they marched together harmoniously the remainder of the way. At the mouth of Elk (the present site of Charleston) the army halted long enough to construct some canoes, or "dug-outs," into which the commissary stores, ammunition, etc., were transferred from the backs of pack-horses, and taken the remainder of the way by river. In most or all the accounts of the battle, it is stated that Col. Christian and his regiment were delayed in getting together, and did not arrive in time for the battle. This is, in part at least, an error. Col. Christian did not arrive until late in the afternoon, when the fighting was nearly over, bringing with him the portions of his companies that had been too late in reaching the rendezvous; but captains Russell, Shelby, and Buford, and parts of their companies, were certainly on the ground at the beginning of the fight.

The four men who had made a daylight hunting excursion up the Ohio river bank, on the morning of the 10th, who were the first to see the Indians, and one of whom (Hickman) was killed—the first blood drawn—were members of captains Russell's and Shelby's companies; and Capt. Buford was present, and himself wounded during the day. The army had been gotten together

hastily, as were, also, the supplies, which were not overly abundant. The army was neither well clad nor well fed; they were, perforce, "teetotalers." They had no spirit rations, and neither tea nor coffee, yet they were in good health and spirits, though tired and worn by the hard march through the wilderness. Gen. Lewis waited several days, anxiously expecting the arrival of Lord Dunmore, who, by appointment, was to have joined him here on the 2d of October. Having no intelligence from him, Lewis dispatched messengers up the Ohio river to meet him, or learn what had become of him. Before his messengers returned, however three messengers (probably McCulloch, Kenton and Girty) arrived at his camp on Sunday, the 9th of October, with orders from Lord Dunmore to cross the river and meet him before the Indian towns in Ohio. This is, substantially, the current version of matters; but authorities differ. Some say the messengers arrived on the night of the 10th, after the battle was fought; others say they did not arrive until the 11th, the day after the battle, and Col. Andrew Lewis, son of Gen. Andrew, says his father received no communication whatever from Lord Dunmore after he (Lewis) left camp Union, until after the battle had been fought, and Lewis of his own motion, had gone on into Ohio, expecting to join Dunmore and punish the Indians, when he received an order to stop and return to the point. This order (by messenger) Lewis disregarded, when Lord Dunmore came in person, and after a conference and assurances from Dunmore that he was about negotiating a peace, Lewis reluctantly retraced his steps. In the very excited state of feeling then existing between the colonies and the mother country, it was but natural that the sympathies of Lord Dunmore, a titled English nobleman, and holding his commission as governor of Virginia at the pleasure of the crown, should be with his own country; but it was not only strongly suspected, but generally charged, that, while he was yet acting as governor of Virginia, and before he had declared himself against the colonies, he was unfairly using his position and influence to the prejudice of his subjects. These suspicions, and the supposed grounds for them, will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter on Lord Dunmore. According to the account of Col. Stewart, when the interview was over between Gen. Lewis and the messengers of Lord Dunmore, on the 9th, Lewis gave orders to break camp at an early hour next morning, cross the river, and take up their march towards the Indian towns; but the fates had decreed otherwise. At the hour for starting, they found themselves confronted by an army of Indian braves, eight hundred to one thousand strong, in their war paint, and commanded by their able and trusted leaders, Cornstalk, Logan, Red Hawk, Blue Jacket and Elinip-

sico, and some authors mention two or three others. Instead of a hard day's marching, Lewis' army had a harder day's fighting—the important, desperately contested, finally victorious, and ever-memorable battle of Point Pleasant. No “official report” of this battle has been preserved, or was ever written, so far as can be learned. There are several good reasons, apparently, for this omission. In the first place, the time, place and circumstances were not favorable for preparing a formal official report. In the second place, Lord Dunmore, the superior officer, to whom Gen. Lewis should, ordinarily, have reported, was himself in the field, but a few miles distant, and Gen. Lewis was expecting that the two divisions of the army would be united within a few days; and, in the third place, the “strained relations” between the colonies and the mother country were such, and the recent action of Gov. Dunmore so ambiguous, that Gen. Lewis was probably not inclined to report to him at all. In the absence of an official report there is given below, an account of the battle which probably comes nearer to it than anything else extant. Being in Belfast, Ireland, in 1874, a short time before the centennial celebration of the battle at Point Pleasant, and knowing that Belfast, Ulster district, and the north of Ireland generally, had sent a large early emigration to the valley of Virginia, many of whose descendants were in Gen. Lewis' army, and in this battle the writer went to the city library to see if he could find anything there relating to the battle. In examining the files of the *Belfast News Letter* a city paper, which he found preserved in annual bound volumes from its commencement, in 1737 (and now over one hundred and fifty years old), he turned to 1774, and his search was soon rewarded by finding the following very interesting letter, a copy of which was sent to the “Charleston Courier” in time for publication and circulation at the Point Pleasant celebration:

BELFAST.

Yesterday arrived a mail from New York, brought to Falmouth by the Harriot packet boat. Capt. Lee.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., November 10th.

The following letter is just received here from the camp on Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa [as then spelled], dated October 17, 1774:

“The following is a true statement of a battle fought at this place on the 10th instant: On Monday morning, about half an hour before sunrise, two of Capt. Russell's company discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from the camp, one of which men was shot down by the Indians; the other made his escape, and brought in the intelligence. In two or three minutes after, two of Capt. Shelby's company came in and confirmed the account.

“Col. Andrew Lewis, being informed thereof immediately ordered out Col. Charles Lewis, to take command of one hundred and fifty of the Augusta troops, and with him went Capt. Dickinson, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Wilson, Capt. John Lewis of Augusta, and Capt. Lockridge, which made the first division. Col. Fleming was also ordered to take command of one hundred and fifty more of the Botetourt, Bedford and Fincastle troops, viz.: Capt. Thomas Buford, from Bedford; Capt. Love, of Botetourt; Capt. Shelby and Capt. Russell, of Fincastle, which made the second division.

“Col. Charles Lewis’ division marched to the right, some distance from the Ohio, and Col. Fleming, with his division, on the bank of the Ohio, to the left.

“Col. Charles Lewis, division had not marched quite half a mile from the camp when, about sunrise, an attack was made on the front of his division, in a most vigorous manner, by the united tribes of Indians—Shawnees, Delewares, Mingoes, Tawas, and of several other nations—in number not less than eight hundred, and by many thought to be one thousand.

“In this heavy attack, Col. Charles Lewis received a wound which, in a few hours, caused his death, and several of his men fell on the spot; in fact, the Augusta division was obliged to give way to the heavy fire of the enemy. In about a second of a minute after the attack on Col. Lewis’ division, the enemy engaged the front of Col. Fleming’s division on the Ohio, and in a short time the Colonel received two balls through his left arm, and one through his breast, and, after animating the officers and soldiers in a most calm manner to the pursuit of victory, retired to the camp.

“The loss in the field was sensibly felt by the officers in particular; but the Augusta troops, being shortly after reinforced from the camp by Col. Field, with his company, together with Capt. McDowell, Capt. Mathews and Capt. Stewart, from Augusta; Capt. Paulin, Capt. Arbuckle and Capt. McClannahan, from Botetourt, the enemy no longer able to maintain their ground, was forced to give way till they were in a line with the troops, Col. Fleming being left in action on the bank of the Ohio.

“In this precipitate retreat Col. Field was killed. During this time; which was till after twelve, the action in a small degree abated, but continued, except at short intervals, sharp enough till after 1 o’clock. Their long retreat gave them a most advantageous spot of ground, from whence it appeared to the officers so difficult to dislodge them that it was thought most advisable to stand as the line was then formed, which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had sustained till then a constant and equal weight of the action, from wing to wing.

"It was till about half an hour of sunset they continued firing on us scattering shots, which we returned to their disadvantage. At length, the night coming on, they found a safe retreat.

"They had not the satisfaction of carrying off any of our men's scalps, save one or two stragglers whom they killed before the engagement. Many of their dead they scalped, rather than we should have them, but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of their men that were first killed.

"It is beyond doubt their loss, in number, far exceeded ours, which is considerable.

"The return of the killed and wounded in the above battle, same as our last, as follows:

"Killed—Colonels Charles Lewis and John Field, captains John Murray, R. McClannahan, Samuel Wilson, James Ward, Lieut. Hugh Allen, ensigns Cantiff and Bracken, and forty-four privates. Total killed, fifty-three.

"Wounded—Col. William Fleming, captains John Dickinson, Thomas Buford and I. Skidman, lieutenants Goldman, Robinson, Lard and Vance, and seventy-nine privates. Total wounded, eighty-seven; killed and wounded, one hundred and forty."

Looking further through the *Belfast News Letter* to see if he could find any additional particulars, the writer found the following Williamsburg letter in relation to the movements of Gov. Dunmore:

"AMERICA.

"WILLIAMSBURG, IN VIRGINIA, December 1, 1774.

"We have it from good authority that his excellency, the governor, is on his way to this capital, having concluded a peace with the several tribes of Indians that have been at war with us, and taken hostages of them for their faithful complying with terms of it, the principal of which are that they shall totally abandon the lands on this side of the Ohio river, which river is to be the boundary between them and the white people, and never more take up the hatchet against the English.

"Thus, in a little more than the space of five months, an end is put to a war which portended much trouble and mischief to the inhabitants on the frontier, owing to the zeal and good conduct of the officers and commanders who went out in their country's defense, and the bravery and perseverance of all the troops."—Copied from the *Belfast News Letter* of February 10, 1775.

It will be observed that the foregoing Point Pleasant letter has no signature to it. The letter was, doubtless, signed when written, but why the name was omitted at Williamsburg or Belfast is not known. While there is no name to the letter as printed, it is circumstantially conclusive, that it was written by Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, whom Gen. Lewis had left in command

of the garrison, and charged with the care of the wounded at the Point. There were no enterprising newspaper correspondents at the front in those days; no literary camp-followers or hangers-on; no amateur aids-de-camp, or other fancy gentleman, to write sensational battle reports; there was no Point Pleasant town there then; no citizens nor neighbors to write army letters or battle reports. Outside of Capt. Arbuckle's camp, there was absolutely not a white man within one hundred miles of Point Pleasant, or nearer than the armies then out on Pick-away Plains. It may be assumed, therefore, that the letter was written by Capt. Arbuckle, possibly by order of Gen. Lewis, to be forwarded to the state capital. It was, probably, sent by runners to camp Union, forwarded thence to Williamsburg, and published in the little weekly *Virginia Gazette*, published by Purdie & Dickson, and the only newspaper then published in the colony. This report of the battle is quite meager, it is true, and it is to be regretted that it had not given more of detail; but, as far as it goes, it is evidently a true and accurate account of what transpired, as seen by the writer, himself an active participant throughout. The style of the letter is plain, simple and clear, with no effort at fine writing; no thought of making or glorifying pet heroes, and no wish to be sensational. It was written on the ground, just one week after the battle, with all the facts fresh and clear upon his own mind, and the memories of his garrison and wounded, with whom, doubtless, he had discussed the exciting events over and over, and compared notes, day by day, during the week past. Though short, the simple and unpretentious style of the report is probably calculated to give the average general reader as clear a comprehension of the prominent facts and features of the battle as a half-dozen-column article from a modern army correspondent, largely made up of fulsome flattery of incipient heroes, and of sensational incidents of doubtful authenticity. About ten years after the battle, Col. John Stewart, who had been one of the first permanent settlers of Greenbrier, and who had taken a most active and efficient part in the prominent Indian wars and raids of the period, in this region, wrote a not very full, but exceedingly interesting, memoir of these early times, and troubles, including the battle of the Point; and to this memoir, probably more than to any other one document, we are indebted for what has been preserved of the eventful history of this valley at that period, and it is the basis of much of the history of the region since written. Many years later, Dr. S. L. Campbell, of Rockbridge, wrote a somewhat similar sketch the material being gathered from the recollections of those who had taken part in the events described, chiefly from Mr. Alexander Reed and Mr. William Moore, of Rockbridge. Later, Col. An-

drew Lewis, of the Bent mountain, Va., son of Gen. Andrew, gave, briefly, his recollections of the long ago; and many other longer or shorter sketches relating to the battle of the Point, and other events of this region have been written mostly from traditions, more or less imperfectly and inaccurately transmitted from those who were personal actors or witnesses. Each of these sketches contains some fact, item or incident unknown to or omitted by the others, but as each item fills a gap and helps to make up the general picture, it is only possible now to get a tolerably full and clear idea and understanding of the conditions then existing by gleaning from all the accounts, each of which, alone, gives so little of circumstantial detail. That there are some discrepancies, and conflicts of statement is but natural and to be expected under the circumstances; they are generally unimportant, however, and must be reconciled by comparisons and weight of probabilities. Col. Stewart, one of the first to write about the battle, after Arbuckle's short account, was himself present, was well known to Gen. Lewis (and a relative by marriage), says Gen. Lewis received a message from Gov. Dunmore, on the 9th, telling him to cross the Ohio and join him. and he (Stewart) mentions McCulloch as one of the messengers. Burk, and others, say the messengers came after the battle, and mention Simon Kenton and Simon Girty among the messengers. Col. Andrew Lewis says his father received no communication of any sort from Gov. Dunmore, until ordered to return from Ohio. Dr. Campbell says there was considerable dissatisfaction in Lewis' camp, for some days before the battle growing out of the manner of serving the rations, and especially the beef rations; the men claimed that the good and bad beef were not dealt out impartially. On the 9th, Gen. Lewis ordered that the poorest beeves be killed first, and distributed to all alike. The beef was so poor that the men were unwilling to eat it, and, although it was positively against orders to leave camp without permission, about one hundred men started out before day, next morning (the 10th), in different directions, to hunt and provide their own meat. Many of these did not get back, nor know of the battle, until night, when it was all over. This was a serious reduction of the army at such a time. This circumstance has not been mentioned, so far as known by any other of the early writers. Of the several men belonging to Captains Russell's and Shelby's companies who went immediately up the bank of the Ohio, the two (Hickman and Robinson) who first encountered the Indians belonged, as Arbuckle tells us, to Capt. Russell's company. Of these, Hickman was killed, as above stated, and Robinson escaped to the camp with all speed, and reported an army of Indians that would cover four acres or more. When the approach of the Indians was re-

ported, it is said that Gen. Lewis first quietly lighted his pipe, and then cooly gave his orders for the disposition of the forces as described by Capt. Arbuckle, and generally confirmed by others. Nearly all the accounts of the battle state that Col. Charles Lewis was shot down on the first round, and soon expired at the root of a tree. Dr. Doddridge says he was carried to his tent by Capt. Morrow and Mr. Blair, from Capt. Paul's company, while Col. Andrew Lewis says he received his wound early in the action, but did not let it be known until he had gotten the line of battle extended from the Ohio to Crooked creek; he then asked Capt. Murray, his brother-in-law, to let him lean on his shoulder and walk with him to his tent, where he expired about 12 o'clock. This does not conflict with the statement of Capt. Arbuckle, who says: "He received a wound which in a few hours caused his death." The terrific grandeur of a battle scene can not well be described in cold, common-place language. We shall not attempt the elevated strain necessary to do the subject justice, but will quote briefly, from two authors who have written on this battle. De Hass says:

"The battle scene was now terribly grand. There stood the combatants—terror, rage, disappointment and despair riveted upon the painted faces of one, while calm resolution and the unbending will to do or die were marked upon the other. Neither party would retreat, neither could advance. The noise of the firing was tremendous—no single gun could be distinguished—was one common roar. The rifle and the tomahawk now did their work with dreadful certainty. The confusion and perturbation of the camp had now arrived at its greatest height. The confused sounds and wild uproar of the battle added greatly to the terror of the scene. The shouting of the whites, the continued roar of fire-arms, the war-whoop and dismal yelling of the Indians, were discordant and terrific."

Col. J. L. Peyton, in his valuable history of Augusta county, says:

"It was, throughout, a terrible scene—the ring of rifles and the roar of muskets, the clubbed guns, the flashing knives—the fight, hand to hand—the scream for mercy, smothered in the death-groan—the crushing through the brush—the advance—the retreat—the pursuit, every man for himself, with his enemy in view—the scattering on every side—the sounds of battle, dying away into a pistol shot here and there through the wood, and a shriek—the collecting again of the whites, covered with gore and sweat, bearing trophies of the slain, their dripping knives in one hand, and rifle-barrel, bent and smeared with brains and hair, in the other. No language can adequately describe it."

After these eloquent and thrilling descriptions of the desper-

ate conflict, one can hardly fail to be surprised, when he comes to foot up results, to find that the casualties are so few. Different accounts of the battle state the losses on the part of the whites, in killed and wounded, at 140 to 215; but it may be assumed that Capt. Arbuckle's account, above given, is correct; that is: nine officers and forty-four privates (53) killed, and eight officers and seventy-nine privates (87) wounded; total, killed and wounded, 140. All the early writers claim that the losses of the Indians were greater than those of the whites, but this admits of much doubt. The historians all claim that the Indians were seen throwing their dead into the river all day, but it seems only a vague "they say" sort of a statement, not given upon the positive authority of any reliable person who saw it. While, per contra, Colonel James Smith, who was several years a prisoner among the Indians, spoke their language, knew many of them well, and communicated with them after this battle, says they only admitted the loss of twenty-eight killed outright, and eight who died from their wounds — total, thirty-six; but as they had no muster rolls, and the tribes scattered, they had probably overlooked at least five, as twenty-one were found lying as they fell, and twelve where their friends had partially buried or secreted them, making thirty-three, and the eight who afterwards died from their wounds would increase their loss to forty-one—one of whom Cornstalk himself had killed. This Col. Smith was one of the most intelligent and observant of the many early pioneers who had the hard fate to serve a captivity of several years among the Indians; but to his misfortune we are indebted for his published narrative, after his release, of his personal adventures and results of his observations, which is probably the best record extant, of the manners and customs, and every-day life of the Indians at that period of their history. Among the eighty-seven wounded whites, it would seem probable that some died of their wounds in the hospital; but, if so, there is no published list or mention of them. To Col. Christian, who, as generally stated, arrived about four o'clock, when the battle was nearly over, was assigned the duty of gathering up and burying the dead whites; most of them were buried in a common grave or trench, with only their blankets for coffins and shrouds. A few, whose friends wished to remove them, were buried in separate graves. The Indians were not given burial at all, but left to pollute the air until the birds, the animals and the elements had disposed of them. The Indians, during the battle, had some of their warriors stationed on both sides of the river, below the Point, to prevent the possible escape of the whites by swimming the river from the extreme point, in the event of defeat. Col. Fleming was early wounded by two balls through his left wrist, but he continued to give his orders with

coolness and presence of mind, calling loudly to his men: "Don't lose an inch of ground! Try to outflank the enemy! Get between them and the river!" but he was about to be outflanked himself, and was only saved by the coming up of Col. Field, with reinforcements, when he was again shot, through the lungs, and carried off the field. Several times the Indians retreated, to draw out the whites from cover—a favorite ruse of theirs—and then advanced again. During one of these moves, Col. Field was leading on his men in pursuit, when he was fatally shot. Gen. Lewis, warned by the loss of so many brave officers and men, of the danger of possible disaster, put a large force of his reserves to cutting and felling trees in a line across the angle between the rivers, making a breastwork for his men, and protection for the camp, if he should be driven back to it. It is rather remarkable that not one of the Indian leaders was killed or wounded. They certainly fought bravely. During the battle it is said that the stentorian voice of Cornstalk was often heard, commanding and encouraging his men. Capt. Stewart at one time asked some one near him, who understood something of the Indian language, what it was that Cornstalk was saying; in reply he said, the English equivalent of the expression is: "Be strong! Be strong!" To punish an individual act of cowardice, during the battle, and to serve as a warning to others, and, possibly, prevent demoralization in his army, it was said that Cornstalk cleft the skull of one of his own men with his tomahawk. This is given on the authority of Cornstalk himself, subsequently obtained; he also stated that he had opposed the battle, and advised a conference with Gen. Lewis, on the eve of the fight, to treat for peace, but he was overruled, when he said to them: "Then if you will fight, you shall fight, and I will see that you do fight!" It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when Gen. Lewis detailed Captains Shelby, Matthews and Stewart to make a detour and flank movement up Crooked creek. This was entirely successful, and was the decisive move of the day. As soon as the Indians discovered it, thinking it was Col. Christian arriving with fresh reinforcements, they began their final retreat. They kept up a show of fighting by desultory fighting, to keep the whites in check while getting away with their wounded, which they accomplished with entire success. Some historians of the battle claim that the Indians were pursued, on their retreat, by the whites, from one to three miles, but the evidence is not satisfactory. Gen. Lewis' army had fought from sunrise to sunset, without food or rest, and were, consequently, fatigued, hungry and exhausted, and in no condition to pursue. To have attempted it in the darkness of the night would have been to risk being

ambushed and exterminated. In the exhausted condition of the armies, we assume that one side was as glad to be let alone as the other, and that there was no pursuit. Probably the first man killed when the battle opened, and after the hunter, Hickman, had been killed a mile above the camp, was Capt. Frogg. He was not commanding a company, but was a sutler. When the order was given to advance, he took his gun and volunteered to fight with the rest. He was a nervous, excitable man, and kept not only even with the front rank, but generally several steps in advance, as there were yet no Indians in sight. He was gaudily dressed in bright colors, and had his hat rigged with ribbons or feathers; suddenly the Indians arose from an ambush in a paw-paw thicket, and fired a volley into the advance. Capt. Frogg, from his advanced position and gaudy dress, had probably been mistaken for an officer of rank, and was riddled with bullets. He had, unfortunately for himself, drawn the fire of the enemy, and, possibly, saved the lives of several others. A few days after the battle, there was a sale, at auction, of sundry articles captured from, or lost by, the Indians during the day. They brought, in the aggregate, £74. 4s. 6d. These two last items are given on the authority of Col. B. H. Smith's centennial address at Point Pleasant in 1874, and he got them from the traditions of his ancestors, who were in the battle. It is said that three Indians were successively shot down over one body in the, at last, unsuccessful effort to secure a much-coveted scalp. The wonderful powers of endurance of the Indians may be estimated from the facts that they occupied the night of the 9th in crossing the river, marched three miles by sunrise on the morning of the 10th, fought from sunrise till dark, remarched three miles, and recrossed the river on the night of the 10th, with little or no opportunity for food or rest. Collins, in his admirable history of Kentucky, says that Capt. James Harrod, who had a company of forty-two colonists in Kentucky, taking up lands and building improvers' cabins, in 1774, left the country with the surveyors and others, when warned out by Boone, took most of them with him up to the point, and "lent a helping hand" in the bloody fight. The weather on the 10th of October, the day of the memorable battle, was clear and pleasant, and the rivers were low. On Tuesday, the 11th, Gen. Lewis strengthened the fort, provided for the wounded and prepared for the march, and on Wednesday, the 12th, crossed the Ohio and started to join Lord Dunmore. It is believed that he crossed not far below the mouth of "Old Town creek," and about where the Indians had crossed and recrossed. The original camp and fort at the point stood in the angle of the rivers, a little nearer the Ohio, and a little below the present Virginia street; and here the brave Virginians,

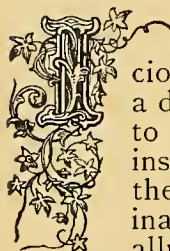
who had lost their lives in defense of her borders and their own homes, were laid to rest. Since that day the Ohio has cut away its banks very much, encroaching upon the site. One of the last official acts of Gov. Dunmore, before fleeing from the wrath of his unloving subjects, was to order the disbanding of the garrison at the Point, in 1775, hoping thus to encourage and facilitate Indian raids upon the western settlements. The governor was then fully committed to the English side in the revolutionary struggle. It was not long, however, till a larger fort was constructed, changing the location to the site of the large brick storehouse of the late James Capeheart, and it was called Fort Randolph. How long this fort stood, is not now known, but Col. Andrew Lewis says he was at the Point in 1784, when there was little or no sign of it left.



CHAPTER IX.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

LORD DUNMORE — HIS CONDUCT WHILE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA COLONY — HIS TREACHERY TO THE FRONTIERSMEN — HIS SUBSEQUENT RASCALLY CONDUCT — POINT PLEASANT AS A MILITARY SCHOOL — NOTABLE CHARACTERS OF THE PLACE — GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS — LOGAN, THE MINGO CHIEF — CORNSTALK, THE FAMOUS INDIAN COMMANDER.



It has been stated that there were not only suspicions, but grave charges, that Governor Dunmore acted a double part, and that he was untrue and treacherous to the interests of the colony he governed. As he is inseparably connected with this campaign (often called the Dunmore war), and its accompanying history, and the inauguration of the revolution, it may be well to briefly allude to his official course just before, during and after the campaign that his true relations to it, and to the colony, may be understood; and, also, to show that the "revolution" was really in progress; that this campaign was one of the important early moves on the historical chess-board, and that the battle of Point Pleasant was, as generally claimed, the initiatory battle of the great drama. In the summer of 1773, Governor Dunmore made, ostensibly, a pleasure trip to Fort Pitt; here he established close relations with Dr. Connally, making him Indian agent, land agent, etc. Connally was an able active and efficient man, who thereafter adhered to Dunmore and the English cause. It is charged that Connally at once began fomenting trouble and ill-feeling between the colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania in regard to the western frontier of Pennsylvania, then claimed by both colonies, but held by Virginia, hoping by such course to prevent the friendly co-operation of these colonies against English designs; and, also, to incite the Indian tribes to resistance of western white encroachments upon their hunting grounds, and prepare the way for getting their co-operation with England against the colonies, when the rupture should come. In December, 1773, the famous "cold-water tea" was made in Boston harbor. In retaliation the English government blockaded the port of Boston, and moved the capital of the colony to Salem. When this news came, in 1774, the Virginia assembly, being in session, passed resolutions of sympathy with Massachusetts, and strong

disapproval of the course of England; whereupon Governor Dunmore peremptorily dissolved the assembly. They met privately, opened correspondence with the other colonies, and proposed co-operation and a colonial congress. On the 4th of September, 1774, met, in Philadelphia, the first continental congress—Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, president; George Washington, R. H. Lee, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton members from Virginia. They passed strong resolutions; among others, to resist taxation and other obnoxious measures; to raise minute men to forcibly resist coercion; and, finally resolved to cease all official intercourse with the English government. In the meantime, Dr. Connally had been carrying out the programme of the northwest. He had taken possession of the fort at Fort Pitt, and renamed it Fort Dunmore; was claiming lands under patents from Governor Dunmore, and making settlements on them; had been himself arrested and imprisoned for a time by Pennsylvania; had the Indian tribes highly excited, united in a strong confederacy and threatened war; then came the massacre of Indians above Wheeling, at Captina and at Yellow creek, said to have grown out of Connally's orders. While the continental congress was passing the resolutions above mentioned, and which created a breach between the colonies and the mother country past healing, Governor Dunmore and General Lewis were organizing and marching their armies to the west. Instead of uniting the forces into one army, and marching straight to the Indian towns and conquering or dictating a lasting peace, Lord Dunmore took the larger portion of the army by a long detour by Fort Pitt, and thence down the Ohio, picking up on the way Dr. Connally and Simon Girty, whom he made useful. At Fort Pitt, it is said, he had held a conference with some of the Indian chiefs, and came to some understanding with them, the particulars of which are not known. Instead of uniting with Lewis at the mouth of Kanawha, as had been arranged, but which was probably not intended, he struck off from the Ohio river at the mouth of the Hocking and marched for the Indian towns on the Pickaway plains, without the support of Lewis' army, delaying long enough for the Indians to have annihilated Lewis' division, if events had turned out as Cornstalk had planned. He (Cornstalk) said it was first their intention to attack the "Long Knives" and destroy them, as they crossed the river, and this plan would have been carried out, or attempted, but for the long delay of Lewis' awaiting the arrival of Lord Dunmore. They afterwards, upon consultation, changed their plans, and determined to let Lewis cross the river and then ambush him somewhere near their own homes, and farther from his (Lewis') base; but the Indians had no organized commissary or transportation

arrangements, and could only transport such amount of food as each brave could carry for his own sustenance; this was necessarily, a limited amount, and Lewis' delay in crossing had run their rations so short that they were obliged to cross, themselves, and force a fight, or break camp and go to hunting food. They crossed in the night, about three miles above the point, on rafts previously constructed, and expected to take Lewis' army by surprise; and it has been seen how near they came to accomplishing it. It was prevented by the accident of the early hunters, who were out before daylight, in violation of orders. Col. Andrew Lewis (son of General Andrew,) in his account of the Point Pleasant campaign, says: "It is known that Blue Jacket, a Shawanee chief, visited Lord Dunmore's camp, on the 9th, the day before the battle, and went straight from there to the Point, and some of them went to confer with Lord Dunmore immediately after the battle." It is also said that Lord Dunmore, in conversation with Dr. Connally, and others, on the 10th, the day of the battle, remarked that "Lewis is probably having hot work about this time."

When Lewis had crossed the river, after the battle, and was marching to join Dunmore, a messenger was dispatched to him twice in one day, ordering him to stop and retrace his steps—the messenger in each instance, being the afterward notorious Simon Girty. Gen. Lewis had, very naturally, become much incensed at the conduct of Lord Dunmore, and took the high-handed responsibility—advised and sanctioned by his officers and men—of disobeying the order of his superior in command, and boldly marching on towards his camp. When within about two and a half miles of Lord Dunmore's head-quarters, which he called Camp Charlotte, after Queen Charlotte, wife of his master, George III., he came out to meet Lewis in person, bringing with him Cornstalk, White Eyes (another noted Shawanee chief), and others, and insisted on Lewis' returning, as he (Dunmore) was negotiating a treaty of peace with the Indians. He sought an introduction to Lewis' officers, and paid them some flattering compliments, etc. Evidently it did not comport with Lord Dunmore's plans to have Gen. Lewis present at the treaty, to help the negotiation by his suggestions, or to have the moral support of his army to sustain them. So much did Lewis' army feel the disappointment and this indignity, that Col. Andrew, his son, says that it was with difficulty Gen. Lewis could restrain his men (not under very rigid discipline, at best) from killing Lord Dunmore and his Indian escort. But the result of the personal conference was that Gen. Lewis, at last with the utmost reluctance of himself and army, consented to return, and to disband his army upon his arrival at Camp Union, as ordered. Suppose Lewis had attempted to cross the river, and been de-

stroyed, or had crossed and been ambushed and demolished in the forest thickets of Ohio, or that Cornstalk had succeeded, as he came so near doing, in surprising him in his own camp, on the morning of the 10th, or after that; suppose the Indians had succeeded in turning the so evenly balanced scale in their favor, during the fight, as they came so near doing, and had annihilated Lewis' army, as they might then have done, having them penned up in the angle of two rivers, who can doubt, in view of all the facts above noted, that Lord Dunmore would have been responsible for the disaster? Who can doubt, as it was, that he was responsible for the unnecessary sacrifice of life, at the Point, on the 10th? Who can doubt that, with the two divisions of the army united, as per agreement, and Lord Dunmore and Lewis acting in unison and good faith, they could have marched to the Indian towns, and utterly destroyed them, or dictated a favorable and lasting peace, and maintained it as long as they pleased, by holding important hostages? But, clearly, the policy of the governor was dictated by ulterior and sinister motives; his actions were not single-minded. Col. Andrew Lewis says: "It was evidently the intention of the old Scotch villain to cut off Gen. Lewis' army." Burk, the historian, says: "The division under Lewis was devoted to destruction, for the purpose of breaking the spirit of the Virginians." Withers, Doddridge, and others, express the same views. Gen. Lewis and his army were convinced of the fact; Col. Stewart had no doubt of it, and nearly every one who has written on the subject has taken the same view of it. A few only are willing to give him the benefit of a doubt. If this design to destroy Lewis' army had succeeded, it is almost certain that the English, through Lord Dunmore, would have perfected an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the victorious Indians, against the colonies, and every white settlement west of the Alleghenies would probably have been cut off. It would have been difficult or impossible, for a time, to raise another army for the defense of the western border; the tory element would have been encouraged and strengthened, the revolutionary element correspondingly discouraged, the rebellion (?) crushed, and Lord Dunmore would have been the hero of the age. Upon what slender and uncertain tenures hang the destinies of nations, and the fate of individuals! The closely-won success of Lewis was not only an immediate victory over the Indians, but a defeat of the machinations of the double-dealing governor, and the projected Anglo-Indian alliance. In this view of it is established the claim of the battle of Point Pleasant as being the initiatory battle of the revolution; and, although small in itself, when its after results and influences are considered it stands out in bold relief as one of the important and decisive victories of history. A few words more and we shall be done with Lord

Dunmore. Upon his return to Williamsburg, the Assembly, upon his own ex parte statement of the results of the campaign, passed a vote of thanks for his "valuable services," etc., which, it is said, they very much regretted when they learned more of the facts. Just after the battle of Lexington (April 18, 1775), he had all the powder that was stored in the colonial magazine at Williamsburg secretly conveyed on board an armed English vessel lying off Yorktown, and threatened to lay Williamsburg in ashes at the first sign of insurrection. Patrick Henry raised a volunteer force to go down and compel him (Dunmore) to restore the powder; but as this was impracticable, he agreed to pay, and did pay, for it, and then issued a proclamation declaring "One Patrick Henry and his followers rebels." He had previously threatened Thomas Jefferson with prosecution for treason, and had commenced proceedings. About this time, having previously sent his family on an English naval vessel, he made his own escape, by night, to the English fleet, and commenced a system of depredations along the coast, burning houses, destroying crops, etc. He tried to bring his scheme of Indian co-operation to bear, and sent a message to his old friend, Connally, with a commission as Colonel, and instructed him to secure the co-operation of as many of the western militia commanders as possible, by large rewards; to form an alliance with the Indians, collect his forces at Fort Pitt, and march through Virginia and meet him. Fortunately, Col. Connally was captured and imprisoned, and the scheme exposed and thwarted. He (Dunmore) issued a proclamation granting freedom, to all the slaves who would flock to his standard, and protection to the Tories. Among other acts of violence, he burned Norfolk, the then largest and most important town in Virginia. Upon his flight, the Assembly met and declared his office vacant, and proceeded to fill it; and, for the first time, Virginia had entire "home rule." Upon the petition of citizens of Dunmore county, which had been named in his honor, the name was abolished, and the county called Shenandoah. In 1776, Lord Dunmore and his fleet and hangers-on were at Guynne's Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, where, as an interesting example of poetic or retributive justice, Gen. Lewis, in command of the Virginia troops, attacked, defeated and drove them off, with heavy loss, Gen. Lewis, himself, firing the first gun, soon after which the ex-Governor, a sadder and wiser man, "left the country for the country's good."

Point Pleasant was a sort of developing high school, which prepared a class of military heroes and statesmen from the apt pupils who had been learning and practicing the preliminary lessons of border warfare in the isolated settlements, and occasional Indian raids that had been made upon their families,

all along the western frontiers, and sent them out to serve their country usefully, and make honorable records for themselves, in after years, all along the borders and newly developing western states, and elsewhere. A brief sketch of, or allusion to, the more prominent persons known to have been present on this memorable occasion, or otherwise connected with it, may be of interest. Gen. Andrew Lewis, one of the high professors and proficient in this military school, had had eventful experiences. He commenced his military career with Washington at Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, in 1754, where he was twice wounded. In the following year, with three brothers, he was with Braddock and Washington, in Braddock's disaster, where three of the four brothers were wounded. In the following year (1756), he commanded the "Big Sandy expedition" against the Shawanees; in 1758 he was with Gen. Forbes and Washington at the capture of Fort Du Quesne, where he was again wounded. Subsequently, he was in the service of his colony in defending her western borders, acting as commissioner in negotiating treaties, or as member of the House of Burgesses. It was at the treaty of Fort Stanwix that the governor of New York, in commenting on his majestic figure and commanding appearance, said of him: "He looks like the genius of the forest, and the very ground seems to tremble under him as he walks along." Col. Stewart, in his memoir, says of him: "He was upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form of the most exact symmetry. He had a stern countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment, which rendered his presence more awful than engaging." Mr. Alexander Reed, of Rockbridge, who was in the battle of the Point, says of him: "He was a man of reserved manners, and great dignity of character—somewhat of the order of Gen. Washington." It is known that Washington considered him one of the foremost military men of the country, and recommended him as commander-in-chief of the armies. Gen. Lewis had beside his brother Charles, three sons in the battle of Point Pleasant; John, a captain, and Samuel and Thomas; privates. Samuel was wounded. There were a number of others here, his relatives by blood or marriage and a large part of his army was composed of the sons of his friends and neighbors. It was a class of material not accustomed to restraint, and not amenable to very rigid discipline. This may account for the statement sometimes made that the discipline of his camp was somewhat lax. He knew their metal, and knew that when fighting was to be done he could depend upon them, and contented himself with this knowledge. Up to this time, Gen. Lewis had fought under British colors, against the French and against the Indians, but this battle was the pivotal point; henceforth his guns were turned

against the British flag (and, strangely enough, in conjunction with the French), until it was driven from our shores. Like Moses of old, he was not permitted to enter into the rewards of his long and arduous labors. He was taken ill with fever, not long before the surrender at Yorktown, and started for his home on the Roanoke, in then Bottetourt, now Roanoke county, but died on the way, at the house of his friend, Col. Buford, at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge. He was brought home and buried on his own magnificent estate, called "Dropmore," lying just outside the limits of the town of Salem, where he rests, solitary and alone, under the spreading branches of the forest trees, on an eminence overlooking, for many miles, up and down, the river and valley of the beautiful Roanoke. But there is yet more to be told, though it is painful to report the sad condition of this lonely grave; there is no marble shaft, nor granite column, nor slab of stone, nor mound of earth, to mark the spot where the hero sleeps. It is enclosed by no wall of stone, or brick, no railing of brass, or iron, or wood, and loose stock roam over it at will. Shall the grave of the old patriot, who fought his country's battles for twenty-seven years — from 1754 to 1781 — from "Great Meadows" almost to Yorktown; who mingled his own blood with the first French blood shed in the first engagement of the great Anglo-French war; who saw his brother slain and his son wounded at the battle of the Point, the first blood shed in the great revolution that gave us our liberties, and who drove the last foreign governor from our colonial shores; the friend and companion of the immortal Washington, longer suffer this cold neglect?

Will not some appreciative and patriotic American in our halls of congress do himself the honor to bring this matter to the attention of our justice-loving and merit-rewarding government, that is spending millions in pensions to the brave men who fought her more recent battles, and hundreds of thousands to honor the memories of the brave officers who led them, or served their country in other fields, and give them the opportunity to honor themselves by doing the tardy justice to embalm in marble, or granite, or brass, either on the site of his grave or at the capital of the nation, the memory of the "Hero of Point Pleasant?" Col. Charles Lewis, a younger brother of Gen. Andrew, and the youngest of five brothers, was, by many, considered "the flower of the flock." He was a man of magnificent physique, as were all the family. He was credited with a more amiable temperament and genial disposition than Gen. Andrew, and was more beloved by his neighbors and his soldiers, while both, alike, were honored and esteemed for their acknowledged bravery, high character and spotless integrity. Col. Charles was said to be the idol of the army.

He had had large, active and honorable military experience, from Braddock's war down to date, and it is believed that he would have achieved greater honors and distinction in the revolutionary struggle if his life had been spared; but his brilliant career was ended in glory on this field. Col. William Fleming was a Scotchman of high lineage by birth, a doctor by profession, a resident of Bottetourt county, a man of learning and culture. He was thrice severely wounded in this battle, but recovered, and was afterwards, for a time, acting governor of Virginia, but not an elected Governor, as sometimes stated. Col. John Field was a native of Culpepper county, Va., had seen active service in Braddock's war and after, had been on the Kanawha a few months before, entering and surveying lands at Field's creek (named after him), and Kelly's creek, where Walter Kelly was shot down by his side, and he narrowly escaped by running eight miles through the wilderness, to the Greenbrier settlements. Col. Field raised a force of volunteers in his own county for this campaign, and united it with Gen. Lewis' army. It was his timely and vigorous advance on the field that checked the retreat both of Lewis' and Fleming's forces, when both leaders had been wounded. He received his fatal wound at the front, after he had succeeded in turning the tide of battle, and was bravely leading on his command in active pursuit of the then retreating foe. Col. Field's remains were never removed from the Point, but still lie there, surrounded by the other brave men who fell around him. Col. Christian was descended from an ancient Scotch family of high degree, who lived on the Isle of Man. The immediate ancestors of Col. William were among the earliest to settle in the valley of Virginia, on Christian's creek, near the site of Staunton. Col. William was a man of education and refinement. He married a sister of Patrick Henry. He was not, himself, present in the early part of the battle of the Point, though a portion of his regiment was, and he arrived, with the remainder, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the fighting was nearly over. He removed to Kentucky a few years after this date, and was finally killed, near the falls of the Ohio, while in pursuit of a raiding party of Indians, who had committed some depredations upon his neighbors. Col. William Preston, of Smithfield, intended to accompany Gen. Lewis and participate in the events of this campaign, but, as his young wife was on the eve of becoming a mother, he remained at home to await the interesting event, which occurred about the date of the battle, and too late to join the army. The child born afterwards became Governor James Preston, of Virginia, the father-in-law of Governor John Floyd, and the grandfather of Governor John B. Floyd.

Capt. Evan Shelby, originally from Maryland, settled on the

Holston, in southwest Virginia, about 1771. He raised a volunteer company for Lewis' army, and joined Col. Christian's regiment. He was present when the fight began. After Colonels Lewis, Fleming and Field had been killed or disabled, he was the ranking officer, until Col. Christian arrived. He it was who led the three companies (his own, Matthews' and Stewarts') on the flank movement up Crooked creek, which was so successful in finally putting the Indians to flight, and deciding the fortunes of the day. Capt. Shelby afterwards became Col. Evan Shelby, and had a distinguished career in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Capt. George Matthews, of Augusta county, with his splendid company, nearly every man of whom, as heretofore stated, was over six feet two inches in height, was one of the three captains who made the successful Crooked creek detour. He afterward became the distinguished Gen. George Matthews of the Revolution, hero of Brandywine, Germantown and Guilford, Governor of Georgia. United States Senator, etc. Capt. John Stewart, one of the first permanent settlers and defenders of Greenbrier, and one of the three captains who executed the Crooked creek flank movement, afterward became Col. John Stewart, took an active part in several subsequent Indian engagements, built on his estate a private fort, called "Fort Spring," was first clerk of Greenbrier county, author of the fullest account of this battle, and ancestor of a large and honorable family of descendants. Capt. William Russell raised a volunteer company in the Clinch and New river settlements, and joined Col. Christian's regiment. He was in the battle at its commencement; the first blood shed was that of Hickman, one of his men, who had started out for an early hunt up the Ohio river. Capt. Russell afterward became Col. William Russell, and father of Col. William Russell, both distinguished citizens of Kentucky. Capt. Moore became Gen. Andrew Moore, of Rockbridge county, United States Senator, etc. Capt. McKee became Col. William McKee, of Kentucky. Lieut. Shelby became Gen. Isaac Shelby, a prominent factor at King's Mountain, Long Island (Holston), battle of the Thames, and other engagements, first Governor of Kentucky, and afterward secretary of war, under Monroe. Lieut. Thomas Ingles, who had been the first white child born west of the Alleghenies, and had been thirteen years prisoner among the Indians, became Col. Thomas Ingles, and had a very eventful career, as herein elsewhere related. William and John Campbell became Gen. William and Col. John Campbell, the heroes of King's mountain. Charles Cameron became Col. Charles Cameron, of Bath county, Va. Bazaleel Wells became Gen. Bazaleel Wells, a distinguished citizen of Ohio. John Steele, who was shot through the lungs here, survived and became Col. John Steele, of the Revolution, a large land owner and

salt dealer in this valley, and Governor of Mississippi. John Lewis became Maj. John Lewis, a prominent citizen of Monroe county, Va. Lieut. Tate became Gen. Tate, a distinguished citizen of Washington county, Va. Lieut. John Draper, who had been one of the founders of the "Draper's Meadows" settlement, was the ancestor of the prominent and honorable family of Draper's valley, Va. Capt. Ben Harrison, according to the family tradition, was engaged in the successful flank movement up Crooked creek, with Shelby and others. The Harrisons were a prominent and influential family in the valley of Virginia, and founders of Harrisonburg; related to Benjamin Harrison, signer of the declaration of independence, Pres. W. H. Harrison, etc. Capt. Daniel Smith was with Col. Charles Lewis at the front, when Lewis received his fatal wound. Capt. Smith was afterwards a prominent man in the valley of Virginia, was long the presiding justice in his county, was the ancestor of Judge Daniel Smith, of that district, and of Col. B. H. Smith, of this city. Capt. John Dickinson, a few years later, "entered" and surveyed the five hundred and two acres of land at and about the mouth of Campbell's creek, containing the original salt spring, or Buffalo Licks. George Clendenin afterwards became the founder of Charleston, the capital of West Virginia; was first member of the legislature from Kanawha county, and, next year, fellow-member with Daniel Boone. He was father-in-law of Gov. Return Jonathan Meigs, of Ohio. William Clendenin (brother of George) became Col. William Clendenin, a prominent citizen and long-time representative, first of Kanawha, and afterwards of Mason county, in the legislature. James Trimble was afterwards the founder of the distinguished family of that name in Kentucky and Ohio, father of Gov. Allen Trimble, U. S. Senator Trimble, etc. Anne Trotter, made a widow by the death of her husband in this battle remarried and became the eccentric and renowned "Mad Anne Bailey," the useful border scout, reliable messenger and valuable conveyor of ammunition, etc., between the forts at Point Pleasant, Charleston, Lewisburg and Jackson's river. She is still remembered by some of our older citizens, and is said to have been nearly 120 years old when she died. Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, who is said to have been the first white man to pass down through this valley to the Ohio and return (in 1764), and was guide and pilot of Gen. Lewis' army to the point, was the commander of the garrison left at the point after the battle, and was probably the author of the first written account of the battle, above given. James Welch was afterwards appointed by Gov. Patrick Henry, first surveyor of Greenbrier county. After the death of Capt. Arbuckle, Mr. Welch married his widow, and, upon his death, his brother, Mr. Alexander Welch,

succeeded to the surveyorship. John and Peter Van Bibber, brothers, came with the army from the Greenbrier, and afterwards settled in this valley, and became the ancestors of a large and prominent family. One of them, Matthias, called "Tice," was the companion of Boone in his hunting and trapping excursions, and chain carrier on his surveys. He became the father-in-law of Jesse Boone, Col. Andrew Donnally, Col. John Reynolds and Mr. Goodrich Slaughter, all prominent citizens of the valley, and, still later, through the daughters of Jesse Boone, he became the grandfather-in-law of Gov. Boggs, of Missouri, and Mr. Warner, a member of congress from Missouri. Capt. James Harrod, who brought up his colonists from Kentucky and took part in the battle, as elsewhere related, next year founded Harrodsburg, Ky., became Col. James Harrod, and one of the most prominent citizens of the state. Philip Hammond and John Pryor, who had come down from camp Union to warn the few settlers on the Kanawha, remained in the garrison at the Point, and, in 1778, volunteered as runners to Greenbrier, to warn the citizens of the approach of the Indians, and then helped to fight them at Donnally's fort, having passed the Indians on the way. Mr. Robertson, one of the two soldiers who met the Indians above the point, on the morning of the battle, and who made his escape, his companion (Hickman) having been killed, became Brig. Gen. Robertson, of Tennessee. Col. Daniel Boone was not in the battle, but was the commander of three frontier garrisons (believed to have been the three Greenbrier forts,) to protect the citizens while the fighting men were absent with the army. He, next year, founded Boonesborough, Ky.

Simon Kenton was not in the fight, but was pilot, scout and messenger for Lord Dunmore, in connection with Simon Girty, and, on account of the friendship then formed, Girty afterward saved his life, when a prisoner, and after Girty had gone over to the Indians. Kenton was the first white man ever to camp in this valley (1771,) and he was the first to raise corn in northern Kentucky. He became Gen. Simon Kenton, and had a most eventful career as frontiersman, Indian fighter, etc. Samuel McCulloch was one of Lord Dunmore's scouts and messengers. He was one of the bearers of orders from Dunmore to Lewis, on the day before the battle. He lived to become one of the most renowned and successful Indian fighters on the western borders. Capt. Logan, afterward Gen. Benjamin Logan, was with Dunmore. He became, next year, the founder of St. Azaph, or Logan's fort, one of the first permanent centers of settlement in Kentucky, and a distinguished commander in the early Kentucky Indian troubles. George Rogers Clarke was with Dunmore; had, probably, joined him at Wheeling, where he planned and laid out the Wheeling fort, called Fort Henry.

He went to Kentucky the following year, where he, Boone, Harrod, Logan and Kenton became the founders, developers and defenders of a great commonwealth. A little later, Gen. George Rogers Clarke became the hero of Vincennes and Kaskaskia, among the most brilliant achievements in history, winning for himself the proud appellation of "The Hannibal of the west." Major (afterward colonel) Crawford, the unfortunate, was also with Dunmore. William Eastham was the father of Mr. A. G. Eastham, a prominent citizen of Mason county, sometime member of the West Virginia legislature, and now, as he believes, the last surviving immediate descendant of any of the participants in the Point Pleasant battle. The admittedly last survivor of those who personally participated in this memorable fight was Mr. Ellis Hughes, one of the remarkable family of border settlers and Indian fighters of that name. After Wayne's treaty, he and a neighbor, Radcliff, removed to Ohio, and were the first to settle in (now) Licking county. Hughes died in 1845, near Utica, aged in the nineties. There were, probably, others connected with this memorable Point Pleasant campaign, who afterward attained to positions of prominence or eminence in the stirring times that followed, as most of them, when disbanded, re-enlisted in the revolutionary armies, but of whose connection with this event no record has been preserved. While the names of those above mentioned will long be remembered and cherished with pride and pleasure by their descendants, there is one other whose "bad eminence" will ever be remembered with execration and horror. Simon Girty had joined Dunmore at Fort Pitt and was acting as scout and pilot. He had not then turned Judas, forsworn his race and betrayed his color, kith and kin; he was an active and useful scout, and probably, up to that time, loyal to the whites. There is a tradition that, while at the point, with the other scouts and messengers (McCulloch and Kenton), the day before the battle, Girty made some demand of Gen. Lewis in regard to pay for his services. Gen. Lewis, very properly, replied that it was not his business to settle such accounts, and referred him to the proper authority; at this Girty became quite insolent to Gen. Lewis, who rapped him severely, with his cane, over the head, and put him out of his tent. Girty left, bleeding profusely from his scalp wounds, threatening vengeance, and swearing that the camp should "run with blood" for the insult. This incident was, doubtless, considered trifling at the time, and, in view of the tragical events of the following day, was probably very nearly lost sight of and forgotten; but, it seems highly probable, if the account of this incident be true, that Girty's defection and renegadeism dated from this time, and was probably occasioned by this unfortunate circumstance, as he very soon, if not immediately

after, joined his fortunes with the Indians and the English, and became the bitter, relentless and dangerously efficient enemy of his former friends, probably causing them, directly and indirectly more bloodshed and suffering, for the next twenty years, than any half dozen of the most bloodthirsty Indian warriors. Girty had not far to go when he "went over to the enemy;" he did but little violence to his feeling. He, with his brothers, George and James, had been captured near Fort Pitt, in their early youth and retained as captives eight or nine years, trained up in all the habits and imbibing the feelings and prejudices of the Indians, learning their language thoroughly, while nearly forgetting their own, acquiring a strong taste and lasting fondness for the roving, unrestrained and exciting Indian life, and thus these wild Irish lads were converted into wilder savage Indians. It has frequently been said that it is impossible to make a white man of an Indian, but very easy to make an Indian of a white man; the history of the Girtys fully illustrates the latter. Of the Indians who participated in this memorable battle of the point, two — Cornstalk and Logan — stand out in bold relief above all the rest. In physical development, manly beauty and intellectual capacity, they were magnificent specimens of their race. For bravery they could not be excelled, and for self-composed dignity of bearing, ease of manner and fervid eloquence they will, from the accounts we have of them, compare favorably with the best orators of any age. Mr. Jefferson, who has immortalized Logan and his touchingly eloquent speech, thought him equal to any of the ancient Greek or Roman orators. It has been doubted by many whether Logan was the author of the speech, but it has also been doubted whether Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence; whether Shakespeare or Lord Bacon wrote Hamlet; William Tell has been pronounced a myth, and Barbara Fritche is said never to have had any visible, tangible existence. There are always believers — always doubters. Following is given the speech of Logan as it was reported by Col. John Gibson, who was with Lord Dunmore at camp Charlotte, who claimed to have heard it direct from Logan, and vouched for its authenticity. Let those believe who can, those doubt who must. Voltaire said: "History does not *always* lie." When Lord Dunmore was holding his peace conference with the Chiefs, at his camp, it was observed that Logan was not present. Feeling the importance of securing his assent to the terms of the treaty, Lord Dunmore sent Col. Gibson to his tent, where he found him brooding over his wrongs. In reply to the request to attend the council, he said: "I am a warrior, not a counselor, and I will not go," but instead he sent his famous speech which appears elsewhere.

Logan, weighed down by his sorrows, gave himself up to

intemperance, becoming a sot, and was finally murdered by a brother-in-law, on his return from a trip to Detroit.

The dominant character, not only in this Indian army, but probably throughout the Ohio tribes, at this period, was the great Shawanee chief, and king of the confederacy, Cornstalk. He was born in this valley, within the present limits of Greenbrier county, says Col. Peyton in his "History of Augusta county." Col. Benjamin Wilson, who was with Lord Dunmore at camp Charlotte, heard Cornstalk at this peace conference, and says of him:

"When he arose, he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks, while addressing Dunmore, were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the first orators in Virginia—Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee—but never have I one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk on this occasion."

Some one else present says:

"His clear, bugle voice could be distinctly heard all through the camp."

Col. Andrew Lewis (son of Gen. Andrew) says:

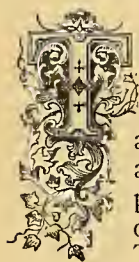
"I have often heard my father speak of his being the most dignified looking man, particularly in council, he ever saw."

That greatness and great misfortunes are apt to go together there are many examples among the illustrious names of the white race, and the histories of Cornstalk, Logan, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and others, illustrate the same rule in their race.

CHAPTER X.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

MURDER OF CORNSTALK — "RED HAWK" — HIS EFFORT TO SHOOT WASHINGTON AT BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT — BLOODY RAIDS BY INDIANS TO AVENGE THEIR LEADER — ATTACK ON POINT PLEASANT — ITS REPULSE — RAID UP THE KANAWHA AND ATTACK ON DONNALLY'S — SPIRITED BATTLE — HANNAH DENNIS — HER CAREER AMONG THE INDIANS.



THREE years after the battle of the Point, the brave Cornstalk, who had here led his army almost to victory, who had himself withstood the flying bullets of a thousand murderous rifles, from sunrise to sunset, and escaped; who was now here as a messenger of peace, unarmed, and trusting his life to the protection of the garrison, was foully and shamefully murdered. The most reliable, indeed, the only reliable, account of it is that by Col. John Stewart, who happened to be present on the occasion, and was an eye-witness of the unfortunate occurrence. Col. Stewart's account is quoted entire, as it also gives valuable collateral history:

"In the year 1777, the Indians, being urged by British agents, became very troublesome to frontier settlements, manifesting much appearance of hostilities, when the Cornstalk warrior, with the Red Hawk, paid a visit to the garrison at Point Pleasant. He made no secret of the disposition of the Indians, declaring that, on his own part, he was opposed to joining in the war on the side of the British, but that all the nation, except himself and his own tribe, were determined to engage in it; and that, of course, he and his tribe would have to run with the stream (as he expressed it). On this, Capt. Arbuckle thought proper to detain him, the Red Hawk, and another fellow, as hostages, to prevent the nation from joining the British.

"In the course of that summer, our government had ordered an army to be raised, of volunteers, to serve under the command of Gen. Hand. who was to have collected a number of troops at Fort Pitt, and, with them, to descend the river to Point Pleasant, there to meet a reinforcement of volunteers expected to be raised in Augusta and Botetourt counties, and then proceed to the Shawanee towns and chastise them so as to compel them to

a neutrality. Hand did not succeed in the collection of troops at Fort Pitt, and but three or four companies were raised in Augusta and Botetourt, which were under the command of Col. George Skillern, who ordered me to use my endeavors to raise all the volunteers I could get, in Greenbrier, for the service.

"The people had begun to see the difficulties attendant on a state of war, and long campaigns carried on through wildernesses, and but a few were willing to engage in such service. But as the settlements which we covered, though less exposed to the depredations of the Indians, had shown their willingness to aid in the proposed plan to chastise the Indians, and had raised three companies, I was very desirous of doing all I could to promote the business and aid the service. I used the utmost endeavors and proposed to the militia officers to volunteer ourselves, which would be an encouragement to others, and by such means to raise all the men who could be got.

"The chief of the officers in Greenbrier agreed to the proposal, and we cast lots who should command the company. The lot fell on Andrew Hamilton for captain, and William Renick lieutenant. We collected in all, about forty, and joined Col. Skillern's party on its way to Point Pleasant.

"When we arrived, there was no account of Gen. Hand or his army, and little or no provision made to support our troops, other than what we had taken with us down the Kanawha. We found, too, that the garrison was unable to spare us any supplies, having nearly exhausted, when we got there, what had been provided for themselves. But we concluded to wait there as long as we could for the arrival of Gen. Hand, or some account from him.

"During the time of our stay, two young men, of the names of Hamilton and Gilmore, went over the Kanawha one day to hunt for deer; on their return to camp, some Indians had concealed themselves on the bank, among the weeds, to view our encampment, and as Gilmore came along past them, they fired on him and killed him on the bank.

"Capt. Arbuckle and myself were standing on the opposite bank when the gun was fired, and while we were wondering who it could be shooting, contrary to orders, or what they could be doing over the river, we saw Hamilton run down the bank, who called out that Gilmore was killed.

"Gilmore was one of the company of Capt. John Hall, of that part of the country now Rockbridge county. The captain was a relative of Gilmore's, whose family and friends were chiefly cut off by the Indians in the year 1763, when Greenbrier was cut off. Hall's men instantly jumped into a canoe and went to the relief of Hamilton, who was standing in momentary expectation of being put to death. They brought the corpse of

Gilmore down the bank, covered with blood and scalped, and put him into the canoe.

"As they were passing the river, I observed to Capt. Arbuckle that the people would be for killing the hostages as soon as the canoe would land. He supposed that they would not offer to commit so great a violence upon the innocent, who were in no wise accessory to the murder of Gilmore; but the canoe had scarcely touched the shore until the cry was raised, 'Let us kill the Indians in the fort,' and every man, with his gun in his hand, came up the bank, pale with rage. Capt. Hall was at their head, and leader. Capt. Arbuckle and I met them, and endeavored to dissuade them from so unjustifiable an action, but they cocked their guns, threatened us with instant death if we did not desist, rushed by us into the Fort, and put the Indians to death.

"On the preceding day, the Cornstalk's son, Elinipsico, had come from the nation to see his father, and to know if he was well or alive. When he came to the river, opposite the Fort, he hallooed. His father was, at that instant, in the act of delineating a map of the country and the waters between the Shawanee towns and the Mississippi, at our request, with chalk upon the floor. He immediately recognized the voice of his son, got up, went out, and answered him.

"The young fellow crossed over, and they embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate manner. The interpreter's wife, who had been a prisoner among the Indians, and had recently left them, on hearing the uproar the next day, and hearing the men threaten that they would kill the Indians, for whom she retained much affection, ran to their cabin and informed them that the people were just coming over to kill them, and that because the Indians who had killed Gilmore had come with Elinipsico the day before. He utterly denied it; declared that he knew nothing of them, and trembled exceedingly.

"His father encouraged him not to be afraid, for the Great Man above had sent him there to be killed and die with him. As the men advanced to the door, the Cornstalk rose up and met them. They fired upon him, and seven or eight bullets went through him.

"So fell the great Cornstalk warrior, whose name was bestowed upon him by the consent of the nation, as their great strength and support. His son was shot dead as he sat upon a stool.

"The Red Hawk made an attempt to go up the chimney, but was shot down. The other Indian was shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him so long in the agonies of death.

"The Cornstalk, from personal appearance and many brave acts, was undoubtedly a hero. Had he been spared to live, I be-

lieve he would have been friendly to the American cause, for nothing could induce him to make the visit to the garrison at the critical time he did but to communicate to them the temper and the disposition of the Indians, and their design of taking part with the British.

"On the day he was killed we held a council, at which he was present. His countenance was dejected, and he made a speech, all of which seemed to indicate an honest and manly disposition. He acknowledged that he and his party would have to run with the stream, for that all the Indians on the lakes and northwardly were joining the British. He said that when he returned to the Shawnee towns, after the battle at the Point, he called a council of the nation, to consult what was to be done, and upbraided them for their folly in not suffering him to make peace on the evening before the battle. 'What,' said he, 'will you do now? The Big Knife is coming on us, and we shall all be killed. Now you must fight, or we are undone.' But no one made an answer. He said: 'Then let us kill all our women and children, and go and fight till we die.' But none would answer. At length he rose and struck his tomahawk in the post in the center of the town-house. 'I'll go,' said he, 'and make peace,' and then the warriors all grunted out, 'ough! ough! ough!' and runners were instantly dispatched to the governor's army to solicit a peace, and the interposition of the governor on their behalf.

"When he made his speech in council with us he seemed to be impressed with an awful premonition of his approaching fate, for he repeatedly said: 'When I was a young man and went to war, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more. Now I am here among you; you may kill me if you please. I can die but once, and it is all one to me, now or another time.' This declaration concluded every sentence of his speech. He was killed about one hour after our council."

Thus fell this rude child of nature, and denizen of the forest, who, with the lights before him, and true to the nature within him, had lived and acted well his part. His creed required an eye for an eye, blood for blood, life for life, and he had lived up to it bravely and fearlessly. He had fought for his country and his race, when duty, as he saw his duty, required it; but he was a lover of peace, and a counselor of peace, when peace was practicable. He was here now, this rude savage, in the interest of peace, when he and his son, the pride of his heart, and his companion in arms, Red Hawk, were cruelly murdered by those who had been reared in the light of the eighteenth century civilization, and under the teaching and preaching of peace gospels. Which were the savages?

Kercheval, in his "History of the Valley," says, on the authority of Maj. Lawrence Washington, that Dr. Daniel Craig, of
10—A.

Winchester, met this Indian brave, Red Hawk, soon after Braddock's defeat, when Red Hawk told him that he had fired eleven well aimed shots at Washington during that memorable day, and had then desisted, believing Washington to be under the protection of the Great Spirit, as his gun never missed its mark before.

It is related by one of the biographers of Washington that, in 1770, when at the mouth of the Kanawha, looking after his lands, he met an Indian, who gave him the same story. This was probably Red Hawk himself, though no name is given. Cornstalk was first buried not far from the camp where he fell, near the intersection of the present Virginia and Kanawha streets, but in after years (1841) his remains were removed to the court house enclosure, where they yet remain; but, like the grave of his illustrious adversary of 1774, there is neither stone nor mound — nothing — to indicate the spot. Mr. V. A. Lewis, a citizen of the county, and well informed in her history, says that the spot is where a westward extension of the southern jail wall bisects a southern extension of the western old court house wall. Prior to the late civil war, Mr. Charles Dawson, son of the then jailor, at his own expense and pains, put a rail fence around the grave, and his sister, Miss Susan Dawson, in the kindness of her heart, planted rose bushes upon it, but during an occupation of the town by federal troops, about 1863, they burned the rails and fences, and stock destroyed the rose bushes, since when the grave has had no care. When Gen. Lewis' monument shall be erected, shall not Cornstalk also be remembered, in acknowledgement of the good that was in him, and in atonement of the wrong that was done him? The directing brain and executing right arm of the great Cornstalk were stilled forever, but his blood cried aloud to his tribe and his race for revenge, and revenge they took in large measure. Who can estimate the amount of blood-shed, the number of innocent lives sacrificed, and the consequent heart-aches, all along the Virginia border, in retaliation for the wicked murder of Logan's kindred, and Cornstalk and his party? It is said that Logan, in retaliation for his wrongs, himself brought in nineteen scalps and one prisoner, and yet he was kind to that prisoner, a Mr. Robinson, and afterward helped Girty to save Simon Kenton's life, when Girty was about to fail. Would the slayers of his family, and of Cornstalk, have been as humane under like circumstances? Many of the individual murderers, interior raids, and attacks in force on the forts, all along the frontier, from the Kanawha to the Monongahela, within the next year or two, were largely due to the determination, on the part of the Indians, to avenge the death of their honored chief. When the news of Cornstalk's death, and the attendant circumstances, reached the capitol, the governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, offered a reward for the apprehension and conviction of

the guilty parties. As a result, Capt. Hall and some of his men were arrested in their county (Rockbridge), and went through the forms of a pretended trial, but there was scarcely a family in that region that had not, at some time, suffered from Indian raids and murders, or had not lost friends or relatives in the battle of the Point, or other Indian wars, and their prejudices were so strong against Indians generally, that, although the facts were generally known, there was no one to prosecute, no one to testify; the trial was a farce, and the case was dismissed by default. Public sentiment went so far as to condemn the act, but was not willing to punish the guilty parties.

In the fall of 1777, not long after the death of Cornstalk, a small party of Indians made their appearance near the fort at Point Pleasant, and Lieut. Moore was dispatched from the garrison, with some men, to drive them off. Upon his advance, they commenced retreating, and the lieutenant, fearing they would escape, ordered a quick pursuit. He did not proceed far before he fell into an ambuscade. He and three of his men were killed at the first fire; the rest of the party saved themselves by a precipitate flight to the fort. In the following May (1778,) a few Indians again came in view of the fort, but as the garrison had been reduced by the removal of Capt. Arbuckle's company, and the experience of the last season had taught them prudence, Capt. McKee, the then commander, forebore to detach any of his men in pursuit of them. Disappointed in their expectations of enticing others to destruction, as they had Lieut. Moore in the winter, the Indians suddenly rose from their cover, and presenting an unbroken line, extending from the Ohio to the Kanawha river, and in front of the fort. A demand was then made for the surrender of the fort, and Capt. McKee asked till next morning to consider it. In the course of the night the men were busily employed bringing water from the river, expecting that the Indians would continue before the fort for some time. In the morning, Capt. McKee sent his answer by the Grenadier squaw (sister to Cornstalk, and who, notwithstanding the murder of her brother and nephew, was still attached to the whites, and was remaining at the fort in the capacity of interpreter,) that he could not comply with their demand. The Indians immediately began the attack, and for one week kept the garrison closely besieged. Finding, however, that they made no impression on the fort, they collected the cattle about it, and, instead of returning toward their own country with the plunder, proceeded up the Kanawha river toward the Greenbrier settlements. Some accounts state that Capt. McKee and three or four others met as many of the Indians, under a flag of truce, and had a conference. Capt. McKee disclaiming for himself and garrison all part in the murder of Cornstalk, explained that it was a sudden act

of lawless violence, done under excitement, deprecated and deplored by all conservative people, etc. Some of the Indians seemed satisfied and returned home, but the larger number were bent on revenge, and moved off up the Kanawha. Satisfied that so large a force would be able to destroy these settlements, if unadvised of their approach, Capt. McKee started two men to Col. Andrew Donnally's (the then frontier house,) with intelligence. These men soon came in view of the Indians, but finding that they were advancing in detached groups, and dispersed in hunting parties through the woods, they despaired of being able to pass them, and returned to the fort. Capt. McKee then made an appeal to the chivalry of the garrison, and asked, "Who would risk his life to save the people of Greenbrier?" John Pryor and Philip Hammond at once stepped forward and replied: "We will." They were then habited after the Indian manner, and painted in Indian style by the Grenadier squaw, and departed on their hazardous, but noble and generous, undertaking.

Traveling night and day, with great rapidity, they passed the Indians at Meadow river, where they were killing and eating some of Mr. McClung's hogs for their breakfast, and arrived, about sunset that day, at Donnally fort, twenty miles further on. Col. Donnally at once had all the neighbors advised, and during the night they collected at his house. He also dispatched a messenger to Capt. John Stewart, at fort Union, to acquaint him with the facts, and make every preparation practicable to resist the attack. Pryor and Hammond explained how the precaution of Capt. McKee in providing a plentiful supply of water had saved the garrison at the Point from suffering, and advised similar precaution here. Accordingly, a hogshead was filled and rolled behind the door of the kitchen, which adjoined the house. Early next morning, John Pritchett (a servant of Col. Donnally's) went out for some firewood, and was fired at and killed. The Indians then ran into the yard, and endeavored to force open the kitchen door, but Hammond and Dick Pointer (a negro belonging to Col. Donnally), who were the only persons within, aided by the hogshead of water, prevented their accomplishing it. They next proceeded to cut the door into pieces with their tomahawks. Hammond, seeing that they would soon succeed in this way, with the assistance of Dick, rolled the hogshead to one side, and, letting the door suddenly fly open, killed the Indian at the threshold, and the others who were near gave way. Dick then fired among them with a musket heavily charged with swan shot, and no doubt with effect, as the yard was crowded with the enemy. A war club with swan shot in it was afterward picked up near the door. The men in the house, who were asleep at the commencement of the attack, being awakened at

the firing of Hammond and Dick, now opened a galling fire upon the Indians. Being chiefly up stairs, they were enabled to do greater execution, and fired with such effect, that about one o'clock, the enemy retired a short distance from the house. Before they retired, however, some of them succeeded in getting under the floor, when they were aided by the whites below, in raising some of the puncheons of which it was made. They (the whites) did this for a purpose, and profited by it. Several Indians were killed in this attempt to gain admittance, while but one white man received a wound, which but slightly injured his hand. When intelligence was conveyed to Capt. Stewart of the approach of so large a body of savages, Col. Samuel Lewis was with him, and they both exerted themselves to save the settlement from destruction, by collecting the inhabitants at fort Union (now Lewisberg.) Having succeeded in this, they sent two men to Donally's, to learn whether the Indians had advanced that far. As they approached, the firing became distinctly audible, and they returned with the tidings. Capt. Stewart and Col. Lewis proposed marching to the relief of Donally's fort with as many men as were willing to accompany them, and in a short time commenced their march with sixty-six men. Pursuing the most direct route, without regard to road, they approached the house from the rear, and thus escaped an ambuscade of Indians placed near the road to intercept and cut off any assistance which might be sent from the upper settlements. Adjoining the yard was a field of well grown rye, into which the relief from Fort Union entered about two o'clock, but as the Indians had withdrawn to a distance from the house, there was no firing heard. They soon discovered the savages, however, in the field, looking intently towards Donnally's, and it was resolved to pass them. Capt. Stewart and Charles Gatliff fired at them, and the whole party rushed into the yard, amid a heavy discharge of balls from the savage forces. The people in the fort, hearing the firing in the rear of the house, soon presented themselves at the port-holes to resist what they supposed was a fresh attack on them; but quickly discovering the real cause, they opened the gates, and all the party, led by Stewart and Lewis, entered safely. The Indians then resumed the attack, and maintained a constant fire at the house until near dark, when one of them approached, and, in broken English, called out: "Me want peace." He was told to come in and he should have it; but he declined the invitation to enter, and they all retreated, dragging off those of their slain who lay not too near the fort. Of the whites, only four were killed by the enemy—Pritchett before the attack commenced, James Burns and Alexander Ochiltree as they were coming to the house, early in the morning, and James

Graham, through a port-hole, while in the fort. It was impossible to ascertain the entire loss of the Indians. Seventeen lay dead in the yard, and they were known to have carried off others of their slain. There were twenty-one men at Donnally's before the arrival of the reinforcements under Stewart and Lewis, and the brunt of the battle was over before they came. The Indian force exceeded two hundred men. It was believed that the invasion of the Greenbrier country had been projected some time before it was actually made. During the preceding season an Indian, calling himself John Hollis, had been very much through the settlements, and was observed to take particular notice of the different forts, which he entered under the garb of friendship. He was with the Indians in the attack on Donnally's fort, and was recognized as one of those who were left dead in the yard. On the morning after the Indians departed, Capt. Hamilton went in pursuit of them with seventy men, but following two days, without perceiving that he gained on them, he abandoned the chase and returned. After this unsuccessful attack on Donnally's fort, the Greenbrier settlements were not again molested until sometime in 1780, when a party of twenty-two warriors made a raid into that country. The first act of atrocity committed was at the house of Lawrence Drennon, above the Little Levels. Here they shot Henry Baker and Richard Hill. Baker was killed, but Hill escaped into the house.

Mr. Drennon dispatched a messenger to the Little Levels for assistance. He soon returned with twenty men, who remained all night, but next morning, seeing nothing of the Indians, and supposing they had departed, they buried Baker, and, with Drennon and family, started to the Levels. Two brothers, named Bridges, to save distance, took a narrow pathway, which the Indians had waylaid, supposing the whites would go that way. They were both killed. The Indians next proceeded to the house of Hugh McIver, whom they killed, and made his wife prisoner. In going from here, they met John Pryor and his wife and child, on their way to the south side of the Kanawha. Pryor was shot through the breast, but, anxious for the fate of his wife and child, stood still, till one of the Indians came up and laid hold of him. Notwithstanding the severe wound he had received, Pryor proved too strong for his opponent, and disengaged himself from him. Pryor, then, seeing that no violence was offered his wife or child, walked off without any attempt being made to stop or otherwise molest him. The Indians, it was supposed, suffered him to depart, expecting that he would obtain assistance and endeavor to regain his wife and child, and that an opportunity would be given them of waylaying any party coming with this view. Pryor returned to the settlement, related the facts

above mentioned, and died that night. His wife and child were never again heard of. It was supposed that they were murdered by the Indians on the way, being unable to travel as rapidly as the Indians wished. Thus, at last, perished the brave John Pryor and his family. He was a noble fellow and deserved a better fate. We cannot learn what became of Philip Hammond, his partner in danger, and equal in daring and endurance. They deserve to be remembered by their country. This party of Indians next went to a house occupied by Thomas Drennon and a Mr. Smith, and captured Mrs. Drennon, Mrs. Smith and a child. Thence, going toward their homes, they wounded Capt. Samuel McClung, and killed an old man named Monday. Withers, to whom, chiefly, we are indebted for this account, says this was the last murder committed by them in the Greenbrier settlements, but there was at least one other instance of murder. During the same season, Mr. William Griffith, his wife and daughter, were killed, and a son, a lad, taken prisoner. In passing through the Kanawha valley, some hunters got on their trail. Mr. Atkinson says that John Young, Ben Morris, Bob Aaron, William Arbuckle, and two others, followed them across to Elk, up Little Sandy and branches, toward Poca, and discovered their camp. There were but two men and a boy. They fired and killed one man, the second man took to his heels, and the boy was unhurt. The man killed proved to be a white man painted as an Indian, the man who escaped was an Indian, and the boy was the captive Griffith lad. The stream on which this incident occurred is, to this day, called White Man's fork of Aaron's fork of Little Sandy.

In 1760, a party of Shawanees made a raid by way of the Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers, then unsettled, over to the then frontier settlement in that direction, on Jackson's river. They killed several persons, among them Robert Renix and Thomas Dennis, and took a number prisoners, among them Mrs. Hannah Dennis, and Mrs. Renix and her five children. They were pursued by a party of whites, under Capt. Matthews; they were overtaken, and in the engagement that followed nine Indians and three whites were killed, but the remainder of the Indians made good their escape, with their prisoners. In accordance with the stipulations of Col. Boquet's treaty, Mrs. Renix and her sons, William and Robert, were returned to their friends in 1765. William and Robert became prominent citizens of Greenbrier; another son, Thomas, came in, in 1783, but returned and settled on the Scioto. Joshua never returned; he married an Indian wife, became a Miami chief, and rich and influential among the tribe. The daughter Betsy, died in captivity. Mrs. Hannah Dennis was separated from the other captives and allotted to live at the Chillicothe towns. She learned their language, she dressed and painted herself as they

did, and conformed to their manners and customs. Finding them very superstitious, she professed witchcraft, and claimed to be a prophetess. She was attentive to the sick and wounded, and soon became a great favorite with them, and acquired great influence over them. She was all the while meditating an escape, and awaiting a favorable opportunity. At last, in June, 1763, she made a start; she was pursued, but after many hair-breadth escapes, she reached the mouth of Kanawha, where she crossed the Ohio on a drift log, and then made her way up Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers. She traveled chiefly by night to avoid discovery, and lived upon river mussels, green grapes, herbs, etc. She finally sat down by Greenbrier river utterly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, and gave up, thinking it impossible to proceed any farther. Here she was found by Thomas Athol and three others, who took her to Archibald Clendenin's house, where she was kindly cared for, and, when sufficiently recuperated to travel, was sent on horseback to Young's Fort, on Jackson's river, and to her relations. At this time there were but two settlements in the Greenbrier country; these were on Muddy creek and the Big Levels, and the two contained about twenty families, or, say, one hundred souls of all ages. Within a few days after Hannah Dennis had left Clendenin's, in the Muddy Creek settlement, about sixty Indian warriors made their appearance, led by the afterwards distinguished Cornstalk. They came professing friendship, and, as the French and English war had but recently been terminated by treaty of peace, the settlers did not doubt their sincerity, and treated them with hospitable kindness; when, suddenly, they fell upon the unsuspecting whites and killed every man, and killed or made every woman and child prisoners. They then hurried on to the Big Levels, fifteen miles distant, where the same treacherous and murderous scenes were re-enacted. Mr. Archibald Clendenin had just returned from a successful hunt, bringing in three fine elk, upon which they had a glorious feast, and after which, at a concerted signal, the massacre was executed upon their helpless victims. Thus, within a few hours, two prosperous and happy settlements were exterminated.


Only Conrad Volkum, out of the 100 persons in both settlements, escaped death or capture by timely flight. The brave Mrs. Clendenin, as below related, made her escape from captivity, but with the sacrifice of her infant child. At Clendenin's, a negro woman, who was endeavoring to escape, was followed by her crying child. To facilitate her own escape, and to prevent the child falling into Indian hands, she stopped and murdered it herself. Mrs. Clendenin, who seems to have been a woman of fearless nerve and strong force of character, boldly denounced the Indians for their perfidy and treachery, alleging that cowards only

could act with such duplicity. To silence her, they slapped her face with the bloody scalp of her husband, and raised a tomahawk in a threatening attitude over her head; but she was not to be silenced or intimidated. She would not hold her peace, nor her tongue. In passing over Keeny's Knobs, on the retreat, the Indians being in the front and rear, and the prisoners in the center, Mrs. Clendenin handed her infant to another woman to hold, and she slipped aside in the brush, and succeeded in making her escape. The crying of the child soon led to the discovery of her absence, when one of the Indians, observing that he could "bring the cow to her calf," took it by its heels and beat its brains out against a tree. Mrs. Clendenin returned to her home, about ten miles distant, that night. She covered the remains of her husband with brush, and weeds, and fence rails, to protect it from the wild beasts, and after an effort to get some rest and sleep in an adjoining cornfield, tortured by visions of murderers and murders, she resumed her flight and finally reached, in safety, the settlements on Jackson's river. These melancholy events, occurring so immediately after the escape of Mrs. Hannah Dennis, whom they were so unwilling to lose, induced the supposition that the raid was made in pursuit of her. If such were the fact, dearly were others made to pay the penalty of her fortunate deliverance.

CHAPTER XI.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF ENENTS ALONG THE BORDER — DATES OF BATTLES, SIEGES AND SETTLEMENTS.

ELIEVING that dates, systematically arranged, very much aid the general reader in understanding the relation of facts to each other and help the memory to retain them, there is herewith given a table of dates, chronologically arranged, of the more important and interesting events that have occurred along the New-river-Kanawha and tributaries, relating to their early settlement and after history. To get early historical dates with accuracy is no easy task, and those who have tried it know. This trouble arises from the fact — heretofore stated — that those who made the history did not themselves record it at the time. This was generally done years after, either by themselves, or by their friends from their dictation, after the dates — never much regarded by them — had become somewhat dim and uncertain. Those who have enjoyed the pleasure of listening to the interesting traditions of old, as related by the lingering members of the rear guard of a generation now past and gone, those whose experiences dated back to the primitive days of border life, cannot fail to remember how often they used this almost stereotyped phrase, “in an early day,” in recounting the incidents of “the long, long ago,” away back in the dim distant past. “The good old times,” which they remembered with so much interest and pleasure, forgetting, or but dimly remembering, the dangers and hardships which accompanied their daring but successful, and therefore pleasurable, adventures. Their goings and comings and their doings were not guided by fixed rules nor programmes, nor cramped and fettered by cold records. They had a contempt for calendars and a negligent disregard of dates. Facts they remembered, and could relate with minutest detail; but they neither knew nor cared whether the events related occurred five, or ten, or twenty years earlier or later; all they knew or cared to remember was, that they occurred “in an early day” — in the dim, indefinite and distance-enchanted past. We have taken great pains, however, to examine and compare dates, as given by all the authorities, records, traditions and other sources available, and believe that the

accuracy of those given below may be relied on with reasonable certainty.

1654. Col. Abraham Wood was the first to cross the Blue ridge, and the first to discover New river, and to name it "Wood's river."

1666. Capt. Henry Battle was the next to cross the Blue ridge. It is possible that he was in the Kanawha valley, as he says he followed a westerly flowing river for several days to near where a tribe of Indians made salt.

1727. Cornstalk was born in this valley. Col. J. L. Peyton, in his valuable history of Augusta county, says he was born 1747, within the present limits of Greenbrier county, but the date is probably too late by twenty years, as his son, Elinipsico, was old enough to be a commanding officer under him at the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774.

1730. John Salling, captured on James river, crossed New river on his way to the Cherokee towns. He was probably the first white man to cross it.

1734. Orange county was formed, and embraced this and all Virginia territory, west of the Blue Ridge.

1738. Augusta county, covering all western Virginia territory, was formed, but was not organized until 1745.

1744. Rapin DeThoyer's map issued, giving wild guesses at the geography of the great west.

1748. Dr. Thomas Walker and party crossed New river westward, and were the first, from this direction, to penetrate into Kentucky.

Draper's Meadows' settlement, the first west of the Alleghenies, was made by the Ingles and Draper families.

1749. The Loyal Land company, organized by Walker, Patton and others, based on a grant of 800,000 acres of land, lying north of the North Carolina line and west of the mountains.

"In April, first Indian depredation west of the Alleghenies, upon Adam Harmon, one of the Draper's Meadows settlers.

"A lunatic from about Winchester wandered across the mountains westward. He was much surprised to find the waters flowing westward, and reported the fact on his return."

1749. Capt. DeCeleron, a French engineer, planted an inscribed leaden plate at the mouth of Kanawha, claiming all the country drained by the river for the French crown.

1750. William Ingles and Mary Draper were married, at Draper's Meadows, the first white wedding west of the Alleghenies.

"Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, influenced by the account of the lunatic, settled on the waters of Greenbrier, in what is now Pocahontas county, W. Va. They occupied the same camp for a time in peace and harmony; but, one being a Catho-

lic and the other a Protestant, they quarreled on religious subjects and separated; the seceder taking up his abode in a hollow tree, within speaking distance of his late associate. Every morning, when they got up, they exchanged salutations across the way and that was the last communication of the day. They were thus found by Col. John Lewis, who came to survey lands on the Greenbrier in 1751. Soon after this, Marlin returned to the settlements; Sewell came, alone, down to New river, about Sewell mountain and creek, which bear his name, and was there killed by the Indians.

"Dr. Thomas Walker make his second trip with a second party, crossing New river and going up Peak creek, Cripple creek, Reed creek, over to Holston, to Clinch, to Cumberland gap, etc. Returning, he came along the Flat Top mountain, by the present site of Pocahontas, down to New river, down New river to Greenbrier, up Greenbrier and Antony's creek, over the mountains, and by the Hot and Warm springs, home."

1751. Thomas Ingles born to William and Mary at Draper's Meadows; the first white child born west of the Alleghenies.

Col. John Lewis and son, Andrew, surveying lands on Greenbrier River, which they so named from the green briers which greatly annoyed them in their surveying; and the county was named from the river.

1752. Peter Fontaine, a surveyor, by order of the governor of Virginia, made a map, giving what was then known of the wester part of the state. The map shows how little was known.

1753. Col. James Patton and William Ingles taking up lands, under the "Loyal Land Company," on Peak creek and in Burke's Garden.

1754. Ingles' Ferry located and settlements about it begun.

"Jame Burke settles in Burke's Garden and is murdered by Indians.

"Two families settle on Back creek, opposite Draper's Meadows.

"James Reed settles and names the first "Dublin," of this neighborhood.

"A McCorkle family and colony of Dunkards settle at Dunkard Bottom, near Ingles ferry.

"Two families settle on Cripple creek, a few miles above.

"One family settles at or near the head of Reed creek.

"All these being on the west side of New river."

1755. Draper's Meadows settlement attacked, and all present massacred or captured.

1755. Mary Ingles and Bettie Draper, the first white persons ever in Kanawha valley.

"Mrs. Ingles and Mrs. Draper help make the first salt ever

made by white persons in Kanawha, or elsewhere west of the Alleghenies."

1756. Settlements again made west of New river.

"Vass' fort built under direction of Capt. Hogg, and advice of Col. George Washington.

"A stockade fort built at Draper's Meadows, under direction of Capt. Stalnaker.

"Vass' fort captured by a party of French and Indians, and the inmates murdered or taken prisoners."

1756. The New river lead mines were discovered by Col. Chiswell, and operations begun.

1760. An Indian raiding party surprised by William Ingles, and others, near Ingles' ferry; six or seven Indians killed, and a few escaped. One white man killed. This was the last Indian raid or trouble that occurred in that region.

"Selim, the Algerine, of remarkable history, passed up the Kanawha valley in search of the white settlements to the east. Selim was a wealthy and educated young Algerine; he was captured in the Mediterranean by Spanish pirates; was sold to a Louisiana planter, escaped, made his way up the Mississippi, and up the Ohio. Somewhere below the Kanawha he met with some white prisoners; and a woman among them told him, as best she could in sign language, to go toward the rising sun, and he would find white settlements. As it was just about this time that an Indian raid had been made through this valley over to the Jackson's river settlements, and captured the Renix family and Mrs. Hannah Dennis, I think it is possible, and even probable, that they were the prisoners he met, and who told him of the eastern settlements. At any rate, he turned up Kanawha, then Greenbrier, etc., and was finally discovered, nearly naked, and on the point of starvation, not far from Warm Springs, and kindly taken care of. Through a Greek testament in possession of some minister who saw him, it was discovered that he was a good Greek scholar; and thus communication was opened up between him and the minister, who understood Greek. Selim studied English, became a Christian, returned to his home in Algiers, was repudiated by his parents because he had given up the Moslem for the Christian religion. He returned to America, heart-broken, and finally died in an insane hospital."

1762. Archibald Clendenin, and others settled on Muddy creek and the Big levels, now Greenbrier county.

"Ingles' ferry established by law — the first on New or Kanawha rivers."

1763. Mrs. Hannah Dennis, having escaped from Indian captivity, made her way up through this valley, and, after great suffering, reached the Muddy creek settlement.

"Soon after this, a large Indian raiding party, under Corn-

stalk, passed up the valley to Greenbrier, and exterminated the Muddy creek and Big levels settlements."

1764. Capt. Paul, pursuing a returning raiding party of Indians with prisoners, surprised them in camp at the mouth of Indian creek, on New river, killed several and recovered the prisoners.

1764. Matthew Arbuckle, a hunter and trapper from the Greenbrier region, passed down the Kanawha valley with peltries, to a trading post at the mouth, and returned, being the first white man to do so.

1766. Butler and Carr hunted and trapped about the heads of Bluestone and Clinch.

"Col. James Smith, Joshua Horton, Uriah Stone and William Baker passed by New river and Holston settlements, and explored the country between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers."

1767. Butler, Carr, and others, settled families about the heads of Clinch and Bluestone.

1768-69. George Washington, R. H. Lee, F. L. Lee and Arthur Lee petition King George for two and a half million acres of Western lands, for "The Mississippi Company."

1769. John Stewart, Robert McClennahan, Thomas Rennix and William Hamilton settled in the Greenbrier country, about where Frankfort now is.

1770. George Washington (says Collins' history of Kentucky), surveyed for John Fry 2,084 acres of land at the forks of Big Sandy, the present site of Louisa. Washington was also at the mouth of Kanawha the same year, looking after his own lands, and his agent, Col. Crawford, is said to have been with him.

"Camp Union, or Fort Savannah, now Lewisburg, was built."

1771. Kenton, Yeager and Strader, the first white men to camp in Kanawha valley, settled about the mouth of Two-mile creek of Elk river.

"Absalom Looney, from Looney's creek, on James river, settled in Abb's valley, on the Bluestone."

1771-72. Col. Andrew Donnally built "Donnally's Fort;" Col. John Stewart, "Fort Spring;" and Capt. Jarrett, the "Wolf creek" or "Jarrett's Fort," all in the Greenbrier country.

1772. The medicinal virtues of the Greenbrier white sulphur waters first tested by the whites. It had long been a famous elk and deer lick, among the Indians.

"A German, named Stroud, settled in the glades of Gauley river, where his family were murdered by the Indians."

1773. Tradition (from Ballinger, the recluse,) of the highest water ever known in New river or Kanawha.

"Walter Kelly, a refugee from South Carolina, settled at the

mouth of a creek nineteen miles above Charleston, now Kelly's creek.

"Col. Thomas Bullitt, Thomas Alsbury, Joshua Morris, John Campbell, and, perhaps, others, were in this valley, looking up lands.

"Kenton, Yeager and Strader were attacked at their two-mile camp by Indians, Yeager being killed, and the other two wounded.

"The McAfee brothers, McCown, Adams, and others, from the New river settlements, joined by Col. Bullitt, Hancock Taylor and others, on Kanawha, go to Kentucky to locate and survey lands. Bullitt surveyed Big Bone Lick, July 5th; McAfee brothers and Hancock Taylor, the site of Frankfort, July 15th; and Bullitt, the site of Louisville, August 5th.

"John and Peter Van Bibber, Rev. John Alderson, and Matthew Arbuckle, came down through the Kanawha valley from the Wolf creek fort.

"The Kanawha burning spring was first discovered by these parties, on this trip."

1774. William Morris settled at the mouth of Kelly's creek, on Kanawha, Leonard Morris at the mouth of Slaughter's creek, John Flinn on Cabin creek, and Thomas Alsbury, and perhaps others, at points lower down. The family of John Lybrook, on Sinking creek, now Giles county, was attacked by Indians; five of the children were murdered, and Lybrook narrowly escaped by secreting himself in a cave.

"In the same neighborhood, Jacob and John Snidow, and a smaller brother, were captured and taken to the Indian country. Jacob and John made their escape and returned, not long after; but the boy remained among them until he was completely Indianized; and, although he afterward came home on a visit, he returned to the Indians, and spent his life with them.

"A Miss Margaret McKinsie was, also, captured; she remained a prisoner eighteen years, when she was recovered and returned to New river; she married a Mr. Benjamin Hall, and lived to a very old age."

1774. Capt. Stewart, of Greebrier, was notified of the impending danger of an Indian outbreak and he dispatched runners (tradition says Hammond and Pryor) to notify the few settlers on Kanawha.

"Walter Kelly was killed at the mouth of Kelly's creek (Kanawha), Col. Field narrowly escaping.

"Gen. Lewis' army, about eleven hundred strong, left camp Union (now Lewisburg), for Point Pleasant, September 11th, piloted by Capt. Matthew Arbuckle."

1774. Daniel Boone was left in command of three frontier

garrisons (probably camp Union, Donnally's fort, and Wolf creek or Jarrett's fort).

1774. Gen Lewis' army arrived at Point Pleasant, September 30th.

"October 9th, three messengers arrive in camp, with dispatches from Lord Dunmore, changing the plans of the campaign. No one authority mentions the names of all the messengers, but McCulloch, Kenton and Girty, one by one, are mentioned by several authors, and I have seen no other names mentioned by any.

"There is a tradition that, for some insolence on the part of Girty, on this occasion, Gen. Lewis caned him over the head and drove him out of his tent.

"October 10th, the ever-memorable battle of Point Pleasant was fought.

"October 12th Gen. Lewis crossed his army over the Ohio, and started to join Lord Dunmore before the Indian towns.

"Capt. Matthew Arbuckle was left in care and command of the wounded and the garrison at the Point."

1775. Gens. Washington and Lewis "took up" 250 acres of land at and embracing the famous Kanawha burning spring.

"Rev. John Alderson cut out the first wagon road across the mountains as far west as the Greenbrier.

"Thomas Ingles settled on Wolf creek of New river."

1776. Robert Hughes, the first settler at the mouth of Hughes creek, Kanawha, was captured by Indians, and remained two years a prisoner.

1777. Cornstalk, Elinipsico, Red Hawk, and another Indian, murdered at Point Pleasant.

1777. Augusta, Botetourt and Greenbrier volunteers, under Col. Skillern, march to Point Pleasant, to join forces under Gen. Hand, from Fort Pitt, but Hand's forces did not arrive.

"Lieut. Moore, and three men, killed by a small party of Indians, near the fort, at Point Pleasant—Fort Randolph."

1778. Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) was besieged by a large force of Indians. Having failed to take the fort, they started up Kanawha toward the interior settlements. Capt. McKee, then in command, called for volunteer "runners," to go to the Greenbrier settlements and warn the settlers of the approach of the Indians. Hammond and Pryor at once volunteered and, being rigged out in Indian disguise, by the "Grenadier squaw," then at the fort, acting as interpreter, they reached the settlement safely, and their timely notice, no doubt, saved a terrible massacre.

"Donnally's Fort was attacked, in May, by the Indian party above mentioned; but, having been fore-warned by Hammond and Pryor, and reinforced by volunteers from Camp Union,

under Stewart and Lewis, they successfully resisted the attack; the Indians retired with considerable loss.

"Thomas Ingles settled in Abb's valley."

1780. Thomas Ingles resettled Burke's Garden.

"An Indian raid into Greenbrier resulted in the killing of John Pryor, one of the brave messengers, and Hugh McIver, and the capture of their wives; also, Henry Baker and two Bridger brothers, and an old man, named Monday, and his wife, were killed, and the wives and children of Thomas Drennon and Mr. Smith made prisoners.

"A little later, William Griffith, his wife and daughter, were murdered, and a son, a lad, taken prisoner. This was the last Indian raid made, or murder committed, in the Greenbrier country.

"The trail of this last raiding party, only two in number, was discovered and followed by John Young, Benjamin Morris, William Arbuckle and Robert Aaron, as they passed down Kanawha, crossed Elk and went up Little Sandy; their camp was discovered on a fork of Sandy; they were fired on, one was killed and one escaped; the lad, young Griffith, was recovered. The one killed proved to be a white man, disguised as an Indian. The fork on which he was killed was, from this circumstance, called White Man's fork of Aaron's fork (from Bob Aaron) of Little Sandy.

"A Mr. Carr and two children murdered near the mouth of Bluestone, and a woman at Culversom's Bottom."

1782. Thomas' Ingles' family captured, and part murdered, in Burke's Garden.

"Lewisburg established as a town, with Samuel Lewis, James Reid, Samuel Brown, Andrew Donnally, John Stewart Arthur Matthews, William Ward and Thomas Edgar, trustees.

"Thomas Teays, captured below the mouth of Coal river, taken to Ohio and condemned to be burned, with Col. Crawford. He was recognized and saved by an Indian, with whom he had hospitably divided his salt, when surveying in Teay's valley, the year before.

1784. James Moore, Jr., captured in Abb's valley.

1785. Captain John Dickinson located five hundred and two acres of land at and about Campbell's creek, including the "Big Buffalo Lick," or Salt spring.

1786. The first wagon road, called "Koontz's new road," was opened from Lewisburg to Kanawha river. Its route was by Muddy creek, Keeney's Knobbs, Rich creek, Gauley, Twenty-Mile, Bell creek and Campbell's creek, with side trails down Kelly's creek and Hughes' creek to the "Boat Yards."

"James Moore, Sen., of Abb's Valley, and two of his children killed, and the balance of the family made prisoners."

1787. The state of Virginia ordered the construction of a wagon road from Kanawha Falls to Lexington, Ky.

1788. George Clendenin built the first house and fort (Fort Lee) where Charleston now stands. (See chapter on Charleston.)

1788. Lewis Tackett was captured by Indians, and, on the way down the Kanawha river, was tied to a pine tree at Knob Shoals, while the captors went off hunting; a rain storm coming on, loosened his buckskin thongs, and allowed him to make a remarkable escape. The "Tackett pine" stood until within the last few years, a prominent landmark.

"Tackett, after this, built a fort at the mouth of Coal river, lower side."

Later, this fort was captured, and several persons murdered. There are two versions of the story of the capture of fort Tackett. I adopt that given by Mr. Atkinson, in his history of Kanawha, derived from Mr. George Harmon. It is the less sensational, but probably the most reliable. John and Lewis Tackett, and their mother, were captured near the fort, while gathering turnips. Chris. Tackett and John McElhany were the only men in the fort when captured. Chris. Tackett was killed in the action, McElhany and wife, Betsy Tackett, Sam Tackett, and a small boy, were taken prisoners; McElhany was tomahawked near the fort. John Tackett succeeded in making his escape, but Lewis Tackett and his mother were taken to the Indian town on the Scioto, where they remained, as prisoners, two years, when they were ransomed and returned. In the Young family, of this valley, is preserved an interesting tradition in relation to the capture of Tackett's fort. When the attack commenced, John Young with a young wife and a one-day-old babe, was in the fort, but upon the final surrender, and under the friendly cover of the approaching shades of night, Young picked up his wife and babe and the pallet on which they lay, made his way, unobserved, to a canoe at the bank, laid them in, and, through a drenching rain, poled his canoe, with its precious freight, up the river, during the night to Clendenin's fort, and they were saved. Neither father, mother nor babe suffered any harm from the effort, fright or exposure. That babe, Jacob Young, died but recently, aged about ninety years, leaving a large family of worthy descendants in this valley.

"Ben Eulin was out in the hills below Point Pleasant, hunting; he was pursued by Indians, and, to escape them, jumped over a cliff, just below and in sight of the point, which proved to be fifty-three feet high. He fell in a clump of pawpaw bushes and grape vines which broke his fall and saved breaking his

neck; he then jumped over another cliff, twelve feet high, and finally escaped, but little worse for the wear and tear.

"About this time, the family of Capt. Van Bibber was attacked, near the Point; his daughter, Miss Rhoda, was killed and scalped, and Joseph, a younger brother, taken prisoner to Detroit: he escaped and returned home, in 1794, soon after Wayne's victory. Capt. Van Bibber, aided by his faithful negro servant, Dave, killed two or three Indians during the attack above mentioned."

1788-1789. Daniel Boone and Paddy Huddlestone caught the first beavers in Kanawha valley, at Long shoal. The steel trap is still preserved.

1789. Mad Ann Bailey made her famous solitary ride, through the wilderness, to camp Union, for amunition for the Clendenin fort. (Fort Lee.)

1789. Kanawha, or "Kenhawa," county was formed. (For organization, etc., see chapter on Charleston.)

"William Wyatt, who lived at the mouth of Paint creek, dreamed that he was bitten by a snake, and interpreted it to mean that he would be shot by an Indian. To quiet his fears, his young wife went with him to the field, where he was working, and kept watch over him; but, sure enough, he was shot and killed by an Indian.

"A party left the Clendenin settlement by boat, bound for the new settlements of Maysville and Lexington, Ky. They consisted of John May, after whom Maysville was named; Jacob Skyles, a large land operator, and the father-in-law of James Rumsey, the original inventor of the steamboat; Charles Johnson, from Botetourt county, the agent and clerk of Skyles; and John Flynn, Jr., once an Indian captive, and son of the murdered John Flynn, of Cabin creek. At Point Pleasant, they picked up the Misses Fleming, two sisters, recently from Pittsburgh. The expedition had a most thrilling and tragical ending. Descending the Ohio river, they were attacked by Indians; John May and one of the Misses Fleming were killed, Skyles badly wounded, and Johnson, Skyles, Flynn and remaining Miss Fleming taken prisoners. Skyles and Johnson, after enduring great privations and tortures, succeeded in making their escape, by separate routes, and returned to the settlements; John Flynn was burned at the stake; and Miss Fleming was rescued, after being sentenced to be burned, tied to the stake and wood piled up around her. Charles Johnson, after his escape, published in book form a history of the personal experiences of each of the members of this unfortunate expedition; and it is one of the most thrilling narratives of early border dangers, sufferings and hairbreadth escapes that has ever been published.

"Matthias (Tice) Van Bibber and his little brother, Jacob,

were fired on by Indians, near Point Pleasant. Tice was struck in the forehead and slightly wounded, but succeeded in escaping. Jacob, the lad, was caught and made prisoner; he made his escape and got home, some two years later.

"William Carrol and family, of Carroll's branch, Kanawha, narrowly escaped being murdered; they escaped, but the Indians burned their house.

1790. Leonard Cooper and William Porter made the first settlements on Elk river, about Cooper's creek and Porter's island.

"Squire Staten was killed on his way home from court in Charleston, at the mouth of a branch which still bears the name of 'Staten's Run.'

"James Hale was killed in the branch opposite the Clendenin fort, which still bears the name of 'Hale's Branch.'

"Fleming Cobb poled a canoe, with ammunition for the Clendenin fort (Fort Lee), sixty miles, up stream, from Point Pleasant, in fourteen hours.

"The Indians killed some cows on a creek in the upper end of Kanawha county, and hung the bells on swinging limbs, so they would ring as the wind blew. When the citizens went out to bring their cows home they were shot down. The creek was named, from this circumstance, 'Bell creek.'

1791. Jerry and Ben Carpenter, and some others, from Bath county, settled on the Upper Elk, and, soon after, O'Brien. They had not been there long when Ben Carpenter and wife were killed, and their house burned; the others, being warned by the burning of Ben Carpenter's house, fled, secreted themselves, and escaped.

"Thomas Lewis established the first ferries, at Point Pleasant, across both rivers, December 9th.

"In May, a party of eighteen whites were attacked by about thirty Indians, about half a mile up the Ohio from the Point Pleasant fort. Michael See and Robert Sinclair were killed; Hampton and Thomas Northup, and a black boy belonging to See, were made prisoners. The boy was the son of Dick Pointer, who fought so bravely to defend Donnally's fort, in 1782. He became an Indian (?) chief, and fought with the friendly Indians on the side of the Americans, against the English, in the war of 1812.

"Mr. Atkinson, in his 'History of Kanawha,' gives an interesting account of the sad fate of a Mr. Strange. He came over on to the upper waters of Elk with a surveying party. He was not an experienced woodsman, and, becoming separated from the party, soon got lost. His companions fired guns to indicate where they were, but it is supposed he thought the Indians were after him, and he fled for life. He was never seen alive again;

but, some years after, his skeleton, portions of his shot-pouch, and the remains of his rusted rifle were found, forty miles distant from where he was lost, at the foot of a beech tree, at the mouth of a creek emptying into Elk, which, from that time, has been called 'Strange creek.' Before he finally succumbed to hunger and exhaustion, he cut, with his penknife, in the bark of the tree, the following lines.

'Strange is my name, and I'm on strange ground,
And strange it is that I can't be found.'

"Two daughters of Henry Morris, who lived on Peters' creek of Gauley, were murdered by Indians. Morris made the Indians suffer dearly for it afterward.

"George Clendenin and Daniel Boone were elected to the legislature of Virginia.

"By a ruse with cow bells, Indians captured the Misses Tyler, near the fort at Point Pleasant.

"John Wheeler, with wife and four children, lived opposite the mouth of Cabin creek. They were attacked by Indians, all killed but one boy, Nat, and their house and the bodies burned.

"Christiansburg, Montgomery county, Va., was established (October 10th) and the following named gentlemen appointed trustees: Christian Snyder, Byrd Smith, James Barnett, Hugh Crockett, Samuel Eason, Joseph Cloyd, John Preston, James Charlton and James Craig.

1793. Collins says the *first* line of packet boats established on the Ohio were keel and flat-bottomed, making one round trip between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh per month, passing the mouth of Kanawha river. Passengers were allowed to work their passage, if short of cash. There was one boat fortnightly, soon increased to one weekly; they each carried six one-pound guns. The cabins were bullet-proof, and had port holes to fire from. There was a separate cabin for ladies.

1794. Shadrach Harriman, then living at the mouth of Lower Vanable branch, two miles above Charleston, on the south side, was the *last* person killed by Indians in the Kanawha valley.

"Gen. Wayne's crushing defeat of the Indians, at 'Fallen Timbers,' August 20th, gave after peace and security to this region.

"December 19th, the legislature of Virginia established the town of 'Charlestown.' (See chapter on Charleston.)

"The legislature enacted 'that forty acres of land, the property of Thomas Lewis, at the mouth of Kenhawa, and in the said county of Kenhawa, as they are already laid off into lots and streets, shall be established a town by the name of Point Pleasant, and Leonard Cooper, John Van Bibber, Isaac Tyler, William Owens, William Allyn, Allyn Pryor, John Reynolds, George Clen-

denin and William Morris, gentlemen, appointed trustees thereof, December 19, 1794.

1796. Volney, the distinguished French author and infidel, was in the valley.

1797. The late Gen. Lewis Ruffner was born October 1st, in the Clendenin block house, probably the first white child born within the present limits of Charleston.

"Elisha Brooks erected a small kettle furnace and commenced the manufacture of salt, above Campbell's creek.

1798. Peter Bowyer, father of the late Col. John Bowyer, of Putnam county, made the *first* settlement in the New river gorge, and established a ferry at Sewell.

"Daniel Boone made his *last* survey in Kanawha (September 8th,) and probably the *last* he ever made.

1799. He left Kanawha for the Spanish Missouri territory.

1808. David and Tobias Ruffner bored the *first* salt well and erected a larger furnace for the manufacture of salt.

1809. William Whitteker bored the *first* salt well and built the first salt furnace on the south side of Kanawha.

1810-12. Audubon, the naturalist, was here.

"Hon. Thomas Ewing, the elder, boiled salt and studied law and Latin here.

1815. Capt. James Wilson, boring for salt water, struck the *first* natural gas well of America.

"Last buffalo killed in the Kanawha valley.

1817. David and Tobias Ruffner *first* discovered and used coal here.

1819. The steamboat Robert Thompson, the first ever in the river, came as far as Red-House, but could not get farther up.

1820. The failure of the Thompson to get up induced the State of Virginia to direct the James River and Kanawha Company to improve the navigation of Kanawha river so as to give three feet of water from the mouth to Kanawha falls, all the year, and to construct a turnpike road across the mountains to the Kanawha falls.

"Last elk killed in the Kanawha valley.

1820. The Andrew Donnally was the first steamboat to reach Charleston.

1823. The Eliza was the next steamer to ascend the river as high as Charleston.

1838. Ingles' bridge built; the *first* bridge across New river or Kanawha.

1840. Billy Morris invented the 'slips,' or 'jars,' a simple tool which made deep well boring possible. It is now used wherever deep well boring is done, and its great utility and value entitle him to be ranked, among inventors, as a great public benefactor.

1841. William Thompson 'struck' natural gas near the burning spring, and used it for boiling salt. He was the first person in America to utilize natural gas for manufacturing.

1843. Dickinson & Shrewsbury got natural gas on the Burning spring tract originally taken up by Generals Washington and Lewis. Messrs. D. & S. also used the gas in the manufacture of salt, as did several others in the neighborhood soon after.

1845. McAdam turnpike constructed from Buchanan, on James river, to the Tennessee line, crossing New river.

1846. Sutton Matthews discovered, on Falling Rock creek of Elk, the first cannel coal known in the Kanawha valley; perhaps the first in America.

1855. The Virginia & Tennessee, now Norfolk & Western railroad, was opened — the first railroad to cross the New River.

1855-6. The first commercial shipments of coal from Kanawha commenced.

"The first coal oil works (Cannelton) erected in this valley.

1861. The battle of Scary, one of the first during the late civil war, was fought, July 17th.

"The highest water in Kanawha since the settlement of the valley — September.

"The southern forces, under Gen. Henry A. Wise, retired from the valley, and it was occupied by the federals, under Gen. J. D. Cox, July 24th.

"Battle of Cross Lanes and Carnifex's ferry, on the Gauley. Gen. Lytle wounded, but not killed, as generally stated — September.

1862. The confederates, under Gen. Loring, re-entered the Kanawha valley; the federals, under Gen. Lightburn, retiring — September.

"Gen. Loring retired from the valley, and Gen. Cox again came in — October.

1863. Virginia divided, and West Virginia established as a separate state — June 20th.

1864. Battle of Cloyd's mountain, Pulaski county, May 9th; Gen. A. G. Jenkins, killed; Col. T. L. Broun and Col. Tom Smith, wounded.

1873. Chesapeake & Ohio railroad opened.

"United States government commenced improving Kanawha river.

"The Quinnemont company established the first iron furnace and the first coke works on New river.

1874. Centennial celebration of the battle of Point Pleasant, at the Point.

1878. William Wyant established the first coke works on Kanawha river.

1883. The New river branch of the Norfolk & Western railroad opened to Pocahontas.

1883-84. The late Col. P. W. Norris, who, it is claimed, was the original suggestor of the Yellowstone National park, and through whose efforts, largely, the government was induced to reserve and set apart that wonderland as a national pleasure park, and who was, for several years, the government superintendent of the park, make several visits to this (Kanawha) valley, under the auspices of the Smithsonian institution, to examine and explore the numerous and extensive earthworks, stone cairns and other interesting remains of the pre-historic mound-builder race, which, at some early period, seems to have been very populous in this valley. Col. Norris opened and explored many of the mounds, cairns, graves, fortifications, etc., and collected and forwarded from here to the Smithsonian institution several thousand relics of this ancient, interesting and mysterious people.

The Bettie Black-band Iron Furnace, the first in the immediate Kanawha valley, and the Davis' creek railroad, were constructed.

1884. The most disastrous mine explosion at Pocahontas (in March) that has ever occurred in America, causing the loss of over one hundred lives.

The Ohio Central, now Kanawha & Michigan, opened to Charleston.

1885. The railroad bridge across the Ohio river, at Point Pleasant, completed.

"The state capital of West Virginia permanently established at Charleston, and the new capitol building occupied.

1887. Ohio River R. R. built, and bridge over Kanawha river at Point Pleasant.

1890. Steel bridge erected across Kanawha at Charleston.

"Peace, health, plenty, and a fair degree of prosperity prevail in the New-river-Kanawha valley, and throughout the borders of West Virginia generally."

CHAPTER XII.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

THE KANAWHA RIVER AND KANAWHA VALLEY.



HAT is known as the Kanawha river is formed by the junction of the New and Gauley rivers in Fayette county, and runs thence, in a northwesterly course, 98 miles through the counties of Fayette, Kanawha, Putnam and Mason, to its junction with the Ohio river at Point Pleasant. There is almost no level or bottom land for ten or fifteen miles down from the upper end of the valley. The bottoms then widen gradually until at Charleston the valley attains a width of about a mile from hill to hill. And from Charleston to the mouth, it maintains a width of one to two miles. It is noted for its picturesque beauty of scenery, mild, genial climate and rich productive alluvial soil, producing the cereals, tobacco, grasses, fruits and vine in great perfection. For something of the pre-historic of the valley, see chapter on the mound-builders. For the history of the first white pioneers and early white settlements, see historical sketches. For a history of the navigation of the river, see chapter on the lock and dam improvement of the river. The four counties through which the river flows, and within which the Kanawha valley lies, are, in the order of the priorities of their organization: Kanawha, Mason, Fayette and Putnam.

Kanawha county. For the organization of Kanawha, which was formed in 1789, see chapter on Charleston.

Mason county. Mason county was formed by act of Assembly, Jan. 2d, 1804, and named after George Mason, a prominent actor in the days of the revolution.

The following named justices composed the first court of the county: Francis Walkins, William Clendenin, William Owens, John Roach, Maurice Reynolds, Edward McDonaugh, John Henderson, John McCulloch, Michael Rader and Andrew Lewis. The first court was held at the house of William Owens, in the town of Point Pleasant, July 3d, 1804. Francis Walkins, sheriff, opened court. William Sterrit qualified as clerk. Sylvester Woodward, John Kerr and Robert Robinson were granted license to practice law in the courts of the county. Mr. Woodward was appointed commonwealth attorney, and Samuel

Clements, commissioner of the revenue. Robert McKee was appointed county land surveyor. William Owens was commissioned as colonel of the county and Jesse Bennett, major of the same.

The first permanent settlement within the county was at Point Pleasant, and dates from time of the battle between the Indians and whites at that place in October 1774. Cornstalk, the great Indian chief, who was unwarrantedly murdered here, in 1777, lies buried in the court house yard.

On the 19th of December, 1794, the General Assembly of Virginia, enacted "that 200 acres of land, the property of Thomas Lewis, at the mouth of Kanawha river, in the said county of Kanawha, as they are already laid off in lots and streets, shall be established as a town by the name of Point Pleasant, and Leonard Cooper, John Van Bibber, Isaac Tyler, William Owens, William Allyn, John Reynolds, Allen Pryor, George Clendenin and William Morris, gentlemen, appointed trustees thereof." The town was incorporated in 1833.

Gen. Washington was on the site of Point Pleasant in 1770, accompanied by his physician, Dr. Craik; his friend and surveyor — the afterwards unfortunate martyr — Col. William Crawford; Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan and Daniel Reuden. They proceeded to locate and survey large tracts of land on the Ohio and Kanawha, under military land warrants.

For a history of the ever memorable battle of Point Pleasant, see chapter on that subject.

The other towns and villages of Mason county are Leon, West Columbia, Mason City and Hartford City.

The Ohio River railroad passes down the Ohio river, crossing the Kanawha by steel bridge at Point Pleasant, and the K. & M. R. R. passes down Kanawha, crossing the Ohio by steel bridge at Point Pleasant.

Fayette County — Was formed in 1831, from Kanawha, Nicholas, Greenbrier and Logan. It was named in honor of Gen. LaFayette. The county is rapidly increasing in wealth and population, growing largely out of its valuable steam and coking coals and timber.

Along the upper Kanawha and New rivers, there is, within this county, very wild and grand natural scenery. The Chesapeake & Ohio railway passes through this county, along the Kanawha and New rivers.

The towns of the county are Fayetteville, the county seat, a village at Kanawha Falls, and Coal Valley, a mining and trading town, central to a large coal mining district on the upper Kanawha.

Putnam County was formed by act of the general assembly

of Virginia, March 11th, 1848. It was named in honor of Gen. Israel Putnam. It was taken from Kanawha, Mason and Cabell.

The first court was held on the 22nd of May, 1848, at the house of Talleyrand P. Brown, on the site of the present town of Winfield. The justices present were Matthew D. Brown, Alexander W. Handley, John C. Thomas, Sr., Mahlon S. Morris, Lawrence A. Washington, Lewis S. Boling, John Morgan, John Ruffner, William A. Alexander and James Smith. Elijah Kimberling was chosen crier, pro tem. H. C. Forlen was appointed county clerk; Geo. W. Summers prosecuting attorney; Daniel B. Washington, commissioner of the revenue; Samuel F. Wyatt, surveyor of lands and Addison Wolf, coroner. Matthew D. Brown was chosen first high sheriff of the county. At the June term of court James Hednick and James M. Laidley were granted license to practice in the courts of the county. The towns of the county are: Winfield, the county seat, named after Gen. Winfield Scott; Redhouse, a village on the opposite side of the Kanawha; Buffalo, founded by Benjamin K. Craig, in 1834, and named after Big Buffalo creek, near the mouth of which it is, and Raymond city, at the mouth of Pocatalico river, named after John I. Raymond, the eminent editor of New York. Some other mining and other villages are springing up. Putnam county is rich in land, coal and timber.

The Raymond City coal company and several other companies are working the equivalent of the Pittsburgh seam of coal, which is here of large size and fine quality. The C. & O. and K. & M. railroads pass through the county.

CHAPTER XIII.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA.



UNDER this head it is not our purpose to attempt a very full history of Charleston; that would exceed the intended limits of this chapter; but as there is very little of its early history recorded—our older citizens knowing it chiefly by tradition, and our later population scarcely at all—it may be well to give here a brief outline sketch of its early settlement and after-progress; though such a sketch can be expected to have but a local interest. Previous to 1755, so far as known, no white person had ever trodden upon the site where Charleston now stands. In July of that year, as elsewhere stated, Mrs. Mary Ingles and Mrs. Bettie Draper passed over it, as captives, on their way to the Indian towns north of the Ohio. The next white person here was Matthew Arbuckle, an enterprising frontier hunter and trapper from the Greenbrier country, who passed down the valley in 1764, to a French trading post at the mouth of the Kanawha, to barter his peltries, and returned. The next we hear of were Simon Kenton and his companions, Yeager and Strader, in 1771, when they passed over it and built a camp at or near the mouth of Two-mile creek of Elk, and occupied it, and hunted and trapped until the spring of 1773, when they were attacked by Indians, Yeager killed, and Kenton and Strader both wounded, but succeeded in making their escape to the mouth of Kanawha, where they were cared for by the traders. In 1773, Col. Thomas Bullitt, who had distinguished himself for bravery and efficient service in the Braddock war, in 1755, and in the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, under Gen. Forbes, 1758, came here to locate his military lands. He was attracted by this fine bottom, and “took up” 1,030 acres lying along the Kanawha, from Elk river up to Wilson’s branch. Later, Col. Bullitt sold this tract to his brother, Cuthbert Bullitt, a distinguished judge, and president of the court of appeals of Virginia. His son, Cuthbert Bullitt, Jr., was a judge in Maryland; and another son, Alexander Scott Bullitt, was member of the legislature, president of the senate, president of the state convention, and lieutenant governor of Kentucky. After the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774, this valley began to fill up rap-

idly; but as this tract was held by non-residents, no settlement was made on it, and nothing done with it until some thirteen or fourteen years later. In December, 1787, a Mr. Clendenin, who had seen the land in 1774, when going to, and returning from, the battle of the Point, and again in 1785-86, when he was one of the state commissioners for laying out and constructing the first wagon road from Lewisburg to the Kanawha, met Judge Bullitt in Richmond, purchased the tract, and at once began his preparations to settle on it.

There seems to be no record of the exact date of his commencing his settlement; but it is known that he and his party reached the locality on the last of April, and as they were not persons to waste time, it is safe to assume that the settlement of Charleston dates from the 1st day of May, 1788. Tackett's fort, at the mouth of Coal river, was built a little later, during the same year. Clendenin built the first house on this bottom, near the river, at the northeast corner of what are now Kanawha and Brooks streets. It was a two-story, double, hewed, bullet-proof, log house, with two rooms below and two above. Immediately in front of this was also built a stockade fort. Both were used, as occasion required, for protection. Several other settlers came out with Clendenin. These were: His brothers, William, Robert and Alexander, Josiah Harrison, Francis Watkins, Shadrach Harriman, Charles McClung, John Edwards, Lewis Tackett, and, perhaps, others; and it was probably they, or some of them, who immediately after, built the first six or seven houses. This was then Greenbrier county, and Clendenin got the then surveyor of the county, Mr. Alexander Welch, who lived at Lewisburg, to come down and lay off a town for him. A block of forty acres was divided and laid off into as many one-acre lots. There were two streets, called "Front" and "Main," now Kanawha and Virginia streets. The cross streets were numbered, not named. This town extended from Elk river up to now Capital street. A plat was made of it by the surveyor; but, from some neglect, was never recorded. According to tradition, the first half dozen houses built here, after Clendenin's, were: One at the upper corner of now Truslow and Kanawha streets, where Mr. L. A. Can now resides; one at the northeast corner of Kanawha and Court streets, where the Barlow building now stands; one between Alderson and Summers streets, where Dr. Rogers' drug-store now stands; one at the northeast corner of Kanawha and Summers streets, where the Frankenberger block now stands; one at the northwest corner of Capital and Kanawha streets, where the Kanawha Valley bank now stands, and one at the northeast corner of Kanawha and Hale streets, where J. P. Hale now resides. In 1789, when Kanawha county was formed, there were but seven houses. In 1798, these had increased to twelve,

and in 1803 to 1810, to about twenty. No name was given to the town for several years after it was laid out. It was called, indiscriminately, "Clendenin's Settlement," or "The Town at the Mouth of Elk." After the formation of the county, Mr. Reuben Slaughter, the county surveyor, made another plat of the town, following substantially, if not exactly, the plat of Surveyor Welch, up to Capital street; but extended it up to now Dunbar street. This plat is on record in the clerk's office of the county. Some years ago, the late Mr. John Dryden, then clerk of this county, through some friend in Lewisburg, found among the old private papers of Mr. Welch, in possession of some of his descendants, the original plat of the town. Though never recorded, it is, fortunately, preserved. It is an interesting historic relic.

On the 19th of December, 1794, the legislature of Virginia formally established the town, and fixed its name as "Charlestown." It is a curious fact that, although the legislature had officially established the county, in 1789, as "Kanawha," and now the town, in 1794, as "Charlestown," both names, by common consent, became changed—one to Kanawha and the other to Charleston. How, why or when, nobody knows. Some years ago there was much trouble and annoyance about our mail matter, growing out of the confusion of the post-office names of our Charleston, and Charlestown, Jefferson county. With a view to remedy this, a public meeting was called here to discuss the propriety of changing the name of our town from Charleston to "Kanawha City." It was warmly discussed, but defeated, mainly on the sentimental ground that it would be sacrilege to abolish the name of the dear old pioneer who had shed his blood and risked his life here, "in an early day," among the Indians; had founded the town, given it his own name, and built a fort to protect and defend his neighbors as well as himself, etc. Sentiment prevailed, and the name remained unchanged; but the writer took some pains to look up the early history of the settling and naming of the town. It was soon discovered that the founder's name was George, not Charles. This somewhat staggered the sentimentalists, but they recovered, saying that George was a very modest gentleman, and, instead of taking it himself, he had conceded the honor of the name to his brother, whose name was Charles; and they clinched this by quoting Howe, who, in his History of Virginia, so states; and other historians all follow Howe. But a further investigation of the family records showed that George had no brother Charles; then it was conjectured that the name was probably given in honor of his son Charles, but a still further investigation of the family genealogies proved that he had no son. After much search of records, and tracing of traditions among the old timers, the writer has but recently arrived at the facts of this case through Mr. C. C. Miller, of Mason

county, a descendant of the Clendenins. He says the town was named by George Clendenin, the founder, in honor of his *father*, whose name was Charles. He was an elderly gentleman, who came here with his sons, died in the Clendenin block house, and was buried near the upper end of the garden, and near the front fence. The fences have been somewhat changed here within recent years; but from Mr. Miller's description of the place, and the writer's knowledge of the lines, he concludes that the grave of Charles Clendenin, whose name the town bears, lies between the present sidewalk on Kanawha street and the roadway, about thirty feet above, midway between Brooks and Morris streets, and at a right angle from the river, about opposite the gum of the old gas well. It would be a graceful act for the city to mark the spot with a durable monument and suitable inscription. Shortly after the Clendenin fort was built, a smaller block house was built about a mile above, and just in front of the present residence of Mr. Franklin Ruffner. This small block house was probably built by Clendenin as a protection to his tenants and farm hands, as it was before he had sold all the bottom above the town, as he afterward did, in 1796, to Mr. Joseph Ruffner.

In 1793, at a time when the Indians were quite numerous hereabout, and hostile, a Mr. James Van Bibber, passing early one morning from the lower fort to the little block house above, saw an Indian in war paint suddenly rise up from behind a log in front of him. Each raised his gun and fired as quickly as possible, the shots being so nearly simultaneous as to make but one report. The Indian fell, and his ball had grazed the body of his opponent. Van Bibber not knowing how many more there might be, made all possible speed toward the upper fort, and met some of the inmates coming to the scene of danger, being warned by what they supposed a single shot, which was an agreed danger signal. Van Bibber exclaimed that he had just "fought a duel," and related the circumstances. Upon repairing to the scene of the conflict, they found the blood of the victim, but the enemy had disappeared. Some days after, the weather being quite warm, the vultures were hovering about the base of the hill back of the bottom, and upon examining into the cause, the remains of the dead Indian were found in a crevice of the rock in the ravine which leads from the present Piedmont road to Spring Hill cemetery, where they had been conveyed and secreted by his companions. This incident was contributed by our worthy citizen, Dr. E. A. Summers, to the "American Pioneer," a periodical published in Cincinnati, in 1843.

In 1790, an interesting, but tragical incident occurred at the Clendenin fort. As related by the old traditions, it is as follows: The neighboring families were all gathered in the fort for safety, as the Indians were known to be prowling about the

neighborhood. One of the inmates, a beautiful young lady, was very ill with a fever. It so happened—and it always so happens—that this fair young lady had a gallant young lover, also in the fort, and whose name was James Hale. As there were no ice houses, nor ice machines, in those days, the gallant young lover determined, at the risk of his life, to go to a fine spring across the river, for a bucket of fresh water to cool the parched tongue and fevered brow of his lady-love; so he took his life in one hand and a bucket in the other, and crossed over, but just as he was in the act of dipping up the cool, sparkling water, he was pierced by several shots from the Indians, and fell dead in the spring; upon hearing of which, his fair sweetheart was so shocked that she swooned, and sank, and died. How could she have done less in recognition of the brave and generous act of her daring lover, who had risked and lost his own life in endeavoring to save hers? Unfortunately—or, perhaps fortunately—there is another version of this highly romantic story. As there may be matter-of-fact, commonplace readers as well as sentimental ones, I shall give both versions, that persons may choose according to their tastes and mental idiosyncrasies. The reverse of the picture above given is as follows: Mr. Clendenin had in his household employment a buxom country lass who cooked the frugal fare, milked the cows and washed the dishes. She was, probably, never sick in her life, and if she ever loved anybody, she probably did not know it, or “let concealment, like a worm in the bud,” etc., Mr. Clendenin also had as farm hands, one James Hale, and another, whose name may have been—Smith. These were strapping young fellows, who plowed the corn, fed the stock, and did other farm work, and would sometimes, “while resting,” go over to the spring for some fresh water. On one occasion, when they were both over, they were both fired on by Indians; Hale was killed and Smith made his escape by jumping into and swimming across the river, diving, from time to time, to avoid the bullets fired after him. Whichever version of this story is accepted, the central historical fact remains—that James Hale, while at the spring opposite the fort, for water, was shot and killed by the Indians, and the branch, hitherto nameless, was called after him, and still bears the name of “Hale’s Branch.” It is generally claimed for Mr. Norris Whittaker, one of our oldest citizens, who was born in 1807, on the lot where the writer now resides, was the first white child born within the present limits of the city of Charleston; this, however, is a mistake, as he remembers frequently to have heard the late Gen. Lewis Ruffner relate that he was born in the Clendenin fort, on the 1st of October, 1797, ten years before Whittaker. It may be as well here to correct an error of fact in regard to the old fort, fallen into Mr. Atkinson, in his valuable

history of Kanawha county. He says: "The Clendenin fort was *torn down* by Mr. C. C. Lewis, in 1874, to make room for the elegant mansion in which he now resides." The facts are as follows: The old stockade fort proper, being nearly rotted down, was torn away and removed about 1815, but the Clendenin block house, or resident fort, continued to be used as a family residence. After the death or removal of George Clendenin the property passed into the possession of Col. David Ruffner; next into that of Capt. James Wilson; after his death into that of Mr. Frederick Brooks, who long resided there, and after him of Mr. John A. Truslow, from whom the writer purchased it in 1872. Wishing to make room for more modern buildings, and being unwilling to sacrifice so interesting a historical land-mark, he went to great expense and trouble to remove the building bodily, about five hundred feet, to a vacant lot near the southeast corner of Brooks and Virginia streets, where it was located, thoroughly repaired, painted, and made sightly and comfortable. Having long been a weather-boarded house, the logs are not visible, and it has every appearance of a frame house. It is at present owned and occupied by Mrs. Marie L. Jeffries. It was, as stated, the first house built within the limits of Charleston, is now over one hundred years old, is in excellent repair and good for another century. The writer is glad to say that it was *not* pulled down and destroyed, and proud to say that he was instrumental in preserving it. The lot from which it was removed was sold to Mr. C. C. Lewis, who built upon it his present elegant residence.

In about 1789—90, when Indians were troublesome and threatening, the famous female spy, scout, messenger, etc. "Mad Ann Bailey," made her daring ride, alone through the wilderness, from here to fort Union (Lewisburg), and brought back a supply of powder and lead for the fort. Ann was English by birth and never got rid of her cockney dialect. She was a first rate rifle shot, and, in telling some of her friends, at one time, of one of her recent feats she said she had just "killed a howl hoff a helm tree across Helk river." At another time, about 1790—91, the Clendenin fort was short of ammunition, and Fleming Cobb, an expert woodsman and waterman, was detailed to go to Point Pleasant for a supply. He started by canoe with his ready rifle and enough cooked food for the trip. He floated down by night to avoid being seen by Indians along shore. By daylight, next morning, he had made fifty miles of the sixty miles' distance. He drew his canoe into the mouth of Ten Mile creek, and secreted it and himself under overhanging boughs, and took a refreshing sleep in the bottom of the canoe. During the day, while he was waiting the darkness of a north night to complete his journey, he saw, passing up on the opposite

side of the river about twenty Indians; they did not discover him, but the sight at once suggested to him the danger he should have to encounter on his up trip. When night came, he went on safely to the fort at the Point. Next day he got his powder, lead and flints, and, at dark, set out on his perilous return. After a few hours travel, poling his canoe up stream, he was discovered and pursued by a party of three Indians, but, as they were on the opposite side of the river, and as he kept his canoe close to his shore, he managed, during the night, to escape harm. Next morning, being about the mouth of Coal river, one of the Indians undertook to swim the Kanawha, so that if he (Cobb) escaped the two on one side, he would inevitably fall within reach of the one on the opposite side. Cobb at once saw the danger that threatened him, and started his canoe full speed for the crossing Indian, being determined to kill him if possible. When within good range he fired and wounded his man. He did not wait to see results, as the other two were firing upon him, but started his canoe up stream with all the energy he could command; and while the two Indians were rescuing the wounded one from the water and taking care of him, he (Cobb) had gotten out of sight; and, about ten o'clock reached the Clendenin fort safely, having made sixty miles by canoe, up stream, without food, sleep or rest, most of the way by night, and most of the way pursued by three armed Indians, one of whom he succeeded in killing or wounding, and thereby escaping them all. What wonderful powers of physical endurance these early frontiersmen had! Without it they could not, with all their nerve and pluck, have executed such daring, dangerous and desperate undertakings. The bottom on which Charleston stands was, originally, largely covered by beech timber. Bears and turkeys are very fond of beech mast, and used to congregate here in great numbers in the fall and fatten on it. The early settlers used to kill and "put up" bear meat for their winter's bacon. Tradition says that Ben. Morris, a noted hunter, killed thirteen bears near here in one afternoon. It is not stated whether it was an extra good day for bears. Mr. John L. Cole, whose memory is well stored with the early traditions of the valley, tells me of an interesting one in the Price family, to the effect that Archibald Price, "in an early day," was making sugar at a sugar camp across the river, probably about where the C. & O. depot now stand, when he discovered that there were Indians in very dangerous proximity, and that his canoe was on the wrong side of the river; but, "Necessity is the mother of invention." He gathered up his sugar kettle, inverted it over his head, thus making a diving bell of it, and walked into and waded through the river on the bottom, saving his life and his—kettle. It is well known to hunters and woodsmen that buffalo,

deer, bears, etc., have regular trails of travel through the forests, and especially regular crossing places along the streams. It is said that there was a regular bear crossing just in front of the present court house; and a deer crossing opposite the fort and mouth of Hale's Branch. The year that Kanawha county was established (1789) was an eventful one. In this year the first United States Congress met, the United States Constitution became operative, and George Washington took his seat as first president of the United States. When the county was organized, it extended from the mouth of Pond creek, five miles below the mouth of the little Kanawha, to the mouth of Big Sandy river, up Big Sandy to Cumberland mountains, and across by Sewell's, etc., containing about ten thousand square miles. Charleston, although it had then but seven houses, was the capital and county-seat of this vast territory. Until the county buildings were erected the courts were held in the Clendenin blockhouse. The first public building erected was a jail, in 1792; it was built of logs, stood on, and partly in, the bank near the fort, was 12x12 feet square and 7 feet high. The next jail was on part of the present court house lot, on the corner of Kanawha and Court streets. The first court house built was of logs, in 1796, on the lot where the present (or late) court house stood. It was 40x30 feet, one story, with two jury rooms 14x14 feet. The first clerk's office was about 14x14 feet, built in 1802, of stone, on the present Hotel Ruffner lot. It was the first stone building in the valley. The last court house lately torn down was built in 1817. The present county clerk's office and the stone jail in 1829, the circuit court office in 1873 and the brick jail in 1888. The lot upon which the county public buildings stand was acquired from George Alderson, in settlement of an unpaid balance of about one hundred dollars due from Alderson to the county. In front of the court-house lot there was an open, covered, public market house. This stood until about 1845. There were no special meat markets then as now.

In the early years of Kanawha county there was but one voting precinct, and that was at the Clendenin fort or fort Lee. The polls were then kept open three days. At the first election held, there were but thirteen votes polled. Of course the candidates were elected by "overwhelming majorities."

In 1790, George Clendenin and Andrew Donnally, Sr., were the first members elected to represent the county in the legislature. In 1791, George Clendenin and Daniel Boone were elected. While on the subject, we will give here as a valuable table for reference, a complete list of all the delegates from Kanawha, from the organization of the county in 1789 until the division of the State in 1863. This list is the more valuable from the fact that the poll-books in our clerk's office, which contained these early

records, were destroyed during the late war. The list from 1789 to 1847, inclusive, the writer cut from the "Kanawha Republican," in 1847, and it is probably the only complete list extant:

- 1790. George Clendenin, Andrew Donnally.
- 1791. George Clendenin, Daniel Boone.
- 1792. Henry Banks, Wm. Morriss.
- 1793. George Clendenin, Wm. Morriss.
- 1794. Wm. Morriss. George Clendenin.
- 1795. Thos. Lewis, George Clendenin.
- 1796. William Clendenin, William Morriss.
- 1797. Edward Graham, William Morriss.
- 1798. William Morriss, Thomas Lewis.
- 1799. Thomas Lewis, David Ruffner.
- 1800. William Morriss, Thomas Lewis.
- 1801. William Clendenin, David Ruffner.
- 1802. R. McKee, D. Ruffner.
- 1803. William Clendenin, Andrew Donnally.
- 1804. D. Ruffner, Carroll Morriss.
- 1805. Nehemiah Wood, William Morriss.
- 1806. John Reynolds, William Morriss.
- 1807. John Reynolds, William Morriss.
- 1808. John Reynolds, Edmund Morriss.
- 1809. John Reynolds, David Cartmill.
- 1810. John Reynolds, Claudius Buster.
- 1811. John Hansford, David Ruffner.
- 1812. David Cartmill, John Hansford.
- 1813. John Wilson, John Hansford.
- 1814. John Wilson, John Hansford.
- 1815. John Wilson, John Hansford.
- 1816. John Wilson, Thomas S. Buster.
- 1817. John Hansford, Lewis Summers.
- 1818. John Hansford, P. R. Thompson.
- 1819. Joseph Lovell, Claudius Buster.
- 1820. Joseph Lovell, N. W. Thompson.
- 1821. Joseph Lovell, Lewis Ruffner.
- 1822. Matthew Dunbar, James Wilson.
- 1823. James Wilson, Van B. Reynolds.
- 1824. Joseph Lovell, John Welch.
- 1825. Lewis Ruffner, Van B. Reynolds.
- 1826. James H. Fry, Lewis Ruffner.
- 1827. James C. McFarland, Daniel Smith.
- 1828. Daniel Smith, Matthew Dunbar.
- 1829. Daniel Smith, Matthew Dunbar.
- 1830. George W. Summers.
- 1831. George W. Summers.
- 1832. James H. Fry.
- 1833. James H. Fry.

- 1834. George W. Summers.
- 1835. George W. Summers.
- 1836. A. Donnally.
- 1837. Daniel Smith.
- 1838. Daniel Smith.
- 1839. Van B. Reynolds.
- 1840. Andrew Donnally.
- 1841. Daniel Smith.
- 1842. Andrew Parks.
- 1843. John Lewis.
- 1844. Daniel Smith.
- 1845. Spicer Patrick.
- 1846. Spicer Patrick.
- 1847. Andrew Parks.
- 1848. James M. Laidley.
- 1849. Dr. Spicer Patrick.
- 1850. Gen. Daniel Smith.
- 1851. Maj. Andrew Parks.

Two delegates were now again allowed and the session made biennial.

- 1853. A. P. Fry, Dr. S. Patrick.
- 1855. Col. B. H. Smith, Col. Charles Ruffner.
- 1857. Col. Charles Ruffner, Maj. N. Fitzhugh.
- 1859. Isaac N. Smith, Isaiah A. Welch.
- 1861. I. A. Welch represented the state in Richmond and Gen. Lewis Ruffner and Greenbery Slack in Wheeling.
- 1863. I. A. Welch re-elected by the Confederates to represent the state at Richmond.
- 1863. June 20th, the state was divided and West Virginia organized as a separate state.

At the first court for Kanawha county, held at the Clendenin fort, in Charleston, Virginia, October 6, 1789, the following "Gentlemen Justices" were severally sworn and qualified as members of the court:

Thomas Lewis, Robert Clendenin, Francis Watkins, Charles McClung, Benjamin Strother, William Clendenin, David Robinson, George Alderson, Leonard Morris and James Van Bibber. Thomas Lewis, being the oldest member of the court, was by the law of the State entitled to the sheriffalty of the county. He was duly commissioned, and he appointed John Lewis his deputy. William H. Cavendish was appointed clerk and Francis Watkins his deputy. The *first* "will" he recorded was the *last* will and testament of William Morris, the first permanent settler at Kelly's creek. Reuben Slaughter was appointed county surveyor. The first survey he entered was one for 1,000 acres, lying about the mouth of Coal river, made for Phineas Taylor,

grandfather of the great showman Phineas Taylor Barnum. David Robinson and John Van Bibber were appointed commissioners of the revenue, and William Drowdy and William Boggs, coroners. In those days counties had military organizations. For Kanawha, George Clendenin was county lieutenant; Thomas Lewis, colonel; Daniel Boone, lieutenant-colonel; William Clendenin, major; Leonard Cooper and John Morris, captains; James Van Bibber and John Young, lieutenants, and William Owens and Alexander Clendenin, ensigns. It was six years after the beginning of the Clendenin settlement, and five years after it had become the county seat of Kanawha, before it was formally incorporated as a town. The legislature then (December 19, 1794,) enacted that "Forty acres of land, the property of George Clendenin, at the mouth of Elk river, in the county of 'Kenhawha,' as the same are already laid off into lots and streets, shall be established as a town, by the name of 'Charlestown; and Reuben Slaughter, Andrew Donnally, Sr., William Clendenin, John Morris, Sr., Leonard Morris, George Alderson, Abraham Baker, John Young and William Morris, gentlemen, are appointed trustees." Surely no set of men ever had such a "corner" on public offices as these few gentlemen who first settled about Charleston. Up to 1805, there was no grist mill at or very near Charleston. Tin graters, not yet quite obsolete in the rural districts, were then largely used. Thomas Alsbury had, "in an early day," built a little water-power tub mill at the falls of Coal river, about twelve miles distant, and to this the few settlers had to send their grists of wheat and corn to be ground, and wait their respective turns, according to millers' rule. No flour or meal was kept on sale here at that day. The first mill built near the town was a little floating tub mill in Elk Shoal, below the mouth of Elk river, in 1805. The Ruffners had built a little corn-cracker at the mouth of Campbell's creek, five miles above town, two years before (in 1803) and, later, William Blaine one at Blaine's Island.

The first sawed lumber used here was all whip-sawed, by hand. The first saw mills established were about 1815 to 1820, on Two-Mile creek of Elk. There were three of them, and two of them had corn-cracker attachments. The first steam flour mill and steam saw mill erected in the town, were by David and Daniel Ruffner, in 1832. Mr. Joseph Bibby, then just arrived from England, and who had learned milling there, engaged with the Messrs. Ruffner to operate the flour mill, and, in 1837, he became the purchaser of it. This mill is still in successful operation. Mr. Bibby is still living, and a well preserved man, and has now been connected with this mill, as operator and owner, for fifty-eight years. The first sermon ever preached in Charleston, according to Mr. Atkinson, was by Rev.

William Steele, January 1, 1804, at the house of Mr. Williams, who lived at the upper corner of Hale and Kanawha streets. He came from the Little Kanawha Methodist Circuit, and for some time after preached here once a month. Rev. Asa Shinn, a Methodist, was the first minister to be regularly appointed to this circuit, a few months later. Rev. Henry Bascom, the afterwards distinguished and eloquent Bishop Bascom, preached here for a while, in 1813. The first Methodist brick church was erected on Virginia street, between Summers and Alderson streets, in 1833. Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner was the first Presbyterian preacher here, about 1816, and was the father of Presbyterianism in the valley. He organized the first Presbyterian congregation in Mercer academy, in March, 1819. After him, Rev. Francis Crutchfield was the first ordained minister to locate here, later in 1819; and he was followed, in 1820, by Rev. Calvin Chadwick. The first Presbyterian church building was erected on Virginia street, between Hale and Capital, in 1828. And a more commodious and elegant church on Quarrier St. in 1890. The Kanawha Presbyterian church, on Virginia, between McFarland and Dunbar streets, was completed in 1885. The first Episcopal minister was Rev. Joseph Willard, in 1816, followed by Rev. Charles Page, in 1821. This church, corner of Virginia and McFarland streets, was built in 1834. The elegant new church at the corner of Broad and Quarrier Sts., in 1888. The first Catholic congregation and St. Mary's academy were organized in 1866, by Rev. Father Joseph W. Stenger. Their church building was completed in 1869, and the convent in 1872. The first Baptist congregation was organized by Rev. P. H. Murry, in 1869, and a church was built on the corner of Donnally and Laidly streets. The first Jewish congregation was organized in 1873. Rabbi Sched was their first teacher, followed by Rabbi Strauss. Their synagogue was built on State street near Court, in 1876. The colored Methodists erected a church, at the corner of Quarrier and Dickinson streets, in 1867, and a larger, finer church on the same site in 1889. Rev. Charles Fisher was the first colored minister. The colored Baptists erected a church on Washington street, near Dickinson, in 1873, Rev. Frank James being their first colored minister. The first colored free school was established in 1867, Miss Lucy James being their first teacher. The first attorney admitted to practice in our courts was Mr. Edward Graham, August 1, 1796. He was appointed Commonwealth's Attorney, at a salary of forty dollars a year. Capt. Cartmill and Scotch Jamie Wilson were among the earliest lawyers. A little later came Charles Baldwin, Judge Matthew Dunbar, Col. B. H. Smith, Col. Joseph Lovell, Maj. Andrew Parks, etc.

As evidence that the early courts had due regard for the

moralties and proprieties, the records show that they fined one Ben Lemasters fifteen shillings, at a court in 1792, for "saying cuss words" in the presence of a member of the court. He could, probably, have sworn in the presence of common mortals for half price. In 1796, the grand jury indicted Joseph Burwell for hunting on Sunday, and William Jones for "taking the name of the Lord in vain."

Tobacco was an important crop, and was largely raised by the early settlers. It was used as a "legal tender," in place of money.

At the May term of court for 1792 it was "Ordered that 4,800 weight of tobacco be levied upon the tithables of this county for the extra services of the clerk for four years last past;" also, "that 3,300 weight of weight of tobacco be levied on the tithables of this county for extra services performed by Thomas Lewis, as sheriff, from the 5th of October 1789, until the 2d day of July, 1792;" also "that William Clendenin be allowed 1,300 pounds of tobacco for his services as sheriff from the 2d day of July, 1792, until the 6th day of August 1793;" also, "that George Clendenin be allowed 1,920 pounds of tobacco for books furnished for the use of this county;" also, "that a deposit of 10,000 pounds of tobacco be applied to the use of the county; and, further, it is ordered that the sheriff proceed to collect the above quantity of tobacco, and settle with the county at the February court, next."

November term, 1793: "Judgment for 1,525 pounds of tobacco in favor of John Stewart, clerk of Greenbrier, against John Edwards, of Kanawha"

The first resident physician here was Dr. Eoff, who came in 1811 or 1812, and was followed by Dr. N. W. Thompson. The late venerable Dr. Spicer Patrick came in 1816, and after a long, active, useful and honorable career, recently went to his rest at but little short of one hundred years of age.

The first taverns, or inns, as they were then called, so far as can now be learned, were the Buster Tavern, at the northeast corner of Court and Kanawha streets, and the Griffin Tavern, at the northeast corner of Summers and Kanawha streets.

The prices of accommodations at such places of public entertainment were prescribed by the courts. The following is a list of prices established at a court in 1820:

Breakfast, dinner, or supper, each.....	25c.
Lodging, per night.....	12½c.
Horse at hay, per night.....	25c.
Horse at pasture, per night.....	12½c.
Jamaica Spirits, Cogniac Brandy, and Madeira	
Wine, per gallon.....	600c.
Cherry Bounce and Country Gin, per gal.....	300c.

Whisky and Peach Brandy, per gal. 200c.

Beer and Cider, per gal. 50c.

Clearly, they were not prohibitionists..

Col. Joel Ruffner (in "Atkinson's Kanawha") says that John Greenlee, who came here from Rockbridge, "in a very early day," was the first blacksmith. Probably the next was the negro, Jack Neal, who had such an eventful history. He was captured near Georgetown, though a free man, and was attempted to be carried South, into slavery. He got loose, killed his captor, escaped, was recaptured near Gallipolis, Ohio, brought here for trial, confessed, was convicted and pardoned. He was the first criminal ever in our little 12x12 jail, and the first tried before the courts. He opened his blacksmith shop soon after his pardon in 1804 or 1805.

Among school teachers Herbert P. Gaines is said to have been the first, with Levi Welch a good second. Jacob Rand, James A. Lewis, Lewis Ruffner and Ezra Walker were all very early. Mercer academy was built in 1818. The lot on which it and the First Presbyterian church were built was donated by Col. David Ruffner.

The first drug store was established by Dr. Henry Rogers, father of Dr. J. H. Rogers, about 1825. The first cabinet and furniture maker was James G. Taylor, about 1833. The first regular undertaker and furniture dealer was S. A. Skees, 1867, succeeded by R. R. Skees.

The first tan-yard was started by William Blaine, below Elk, "at an early day."

Fleming Cobb, of canoe memory, brought out from old Virginia the first fruit trees. Ann Bailey brought out the first pair of geese, and also brought, on horseback, from Lewisburg, the first copper worm still.

The first clock and watch maker was the elder Thomas Matthews, who came from eastern Virginia in 1808. He was a most ingenious and skillful workman. He made many of the old eight feet high eight-day clocks for those who were able to buy them. Some of them are still extant. Mr. Matthews was an eccentric, as well as ingenious man. He used to say that the primitive settlers here were as healthy, peaceable, moral and happy a people as he ever saw, until the doctors, lawyers and preachers came in; then, he said, they began to get sick, to quarrel and law each other, and to develop all sorts of meanness. It is not known whether he claimed to have established the relation of cause and effect between these phenomena, or whether he regarded them as merely curious coincidences.

The first postoffice established here was April 1, 1801, and called "Kanawha C. H." The first postmaster was Edward Graham; the second was Francis A. Dubois, January 1, 1803,

followed by William Whitteker, October 1, 1808. The post-office was in the old log house that stood on the northeast corner of Kanawha and Hale streets. The official name of the postoffice remained Kanawha C. H. until September 30, 1879, when it was changed by the postoffice department to Charleston. Up to as late as 1810, and probably later, there was only a fortnightly mail here, brought from Lewisburg on horseback.

The first newspapers established here were the *Kanawha Patriot*, by Herbert P. Gaines, in 1819, followed by the *Western Courier* by Mason Campbell, in 1820, and by the *Western Register* by Messrs. J. M. & A. T. Laidley, in 1829. Mr. Mason Campbell is but recently deceased, and Messrs. J. M. & A. T. Laidley both still survive.

The first bank established here was a branch of the bank of Virginia, in 1832 — J. C. McFarland, president; Samuel Hannah, cashier; John M. Doddridge, teller. The first local brass band was organized and instructed by Prof. Carl Fine, a German music teacher, in 1858.

The first ferry was a sort of double-barreled affair, crossing both Kanawha and Elk rivers from the point at the junction. The legislature granted the franchise to George Clendenin, December 19, 1794. Later, there was an opposition ferry, crossing Kanawha from the mouth of Ferry Branch, landing on the upper or lower side of Elk, as desired. It was started, in 1809, by John and Langston Ward, but not officially established until 1812. The Wards lived on the south side of Kanawha, at the mouth of Ferry Branch, which took its name from their ferry. The Alexander Quarrier ferry and the James Wilson ferry, afterward the Goshorn and Hale ferries, now owned by Ruffner Bros., or the "Charleston Ferry Company," were established in 1820.

The wire suspension bridge, over Elk river, was built by a stock company in 1852. The Keystone bridge was built chiefly by Mr. J. Brisbin Walker in the interest of his "West End" extension, in 1873; was destroyed by an ice gorge in 1879, and rebuilt by the city in 1886, when the suspension bridge was purchased and both made free bridges. The Elk log boom was constructed about 1869 by Messrs. Huling and Brokerhoff.

The first circuit court held here was on the 24th of April, 1809, Judge John Coulter presiding, about whom the following anecdote is told: Having, at this first sitting, fined some transgressor for some infraction of law, the victim, probably not a prohibitionist, got up and addressing the court said: See here Mr. Judge, ain't you a settin' of your Coulter a leetle too deep for new ground?" Judge James Allen followed Judge Coulter in September, 1811, and Judge Lewis Summers succeeded Judge

Allen on the bench, in 1819, and held the position until 1843, about a quarter of a century.

The first steamboat ever at Charleston was the "Andrew Donnally," in December, 1820, the next was the "Eliza," in 1823. She was built at Wheeling for Andrew Donnally and Isaac Noyes. She went to Cincinnati, but never returned. She was a failure. The next was the "Fairy Queen," built at Cincinnati in 1824, by Andrew Donnally and A. M. Henderson. She ran for some time as a Charleston and Cincinnati packet.

The next was the "Paul Pry," in 1826, built and owned by Joel Shrewsbury, Jr., and Captain John Rogers. She ran in the trade for two years, when she "blew up" at Guyandotte. In 1830, Armstrong, Grant & Co. bought the "O. H. Perry" and put her in the Kanawha trade. Her name was afterward changed to the "Daniel Webster." In 1830, the "Enterprise," built at Pittsburgh, and commanded by Captain James Payne, was the first towboat ever in Kanawha. Her machinery was afterward put on the "Hope," built by Messrs. Payne and Hall.

In 1832, Captain Andrew Ruffner built the steamer "Tiskelwah," at the mouth of Elk, and ran her for a while in the Charleston and Cincinnati trade. She was the first steamer ever built in Charleston. About this time Captain Payne built the "Jim," at Red House, putting on her the "Hope's" machinery. In 1837, the Summers Bros. built the "Texas" and ran her for a time. In 1838, Dr. Putney, William Atkinson and Samuel Summers built the "Osceola," at Buffalo, on the Kanawha river. In 1839, James M. Laidley built the steamer "Elk." In 1843, Captain Payne built the "Ark" and put on her the machinery of the "Julia Gratiot." In 1846, Captain B. J. Caffrey built and ran the "Triumph." In the same year, Warth & English built the "Blue Ridge" and sold her to Captain Payne. She exploded her boilers in 1848 killing half a dozen or more persons. In 1851, Ruffner, Donnally & Co. bought the steamer "Salem" at Pittsburgh and brought her to this river. She is said to have had on her the first steam whistle ever in the Kanawha river, and she was the first boat ever to ascend to the Kanawha Falls. After this, Kanawha packets and towboats became too numerous even to be mentioned here.

The first little up-river packet, Charleston and above, was the "Here's Your Mule," built in 1864 by I. P. Hale. The next two built here expressly for the upper trade were the "Wild Goose" and "Lame Duck" in 1878 by J. P. Hale.

In the early days of steamboating here, about 1833, there was a very exciting and long famous steamboat-canoe race. Mr. Sutton Matthews got up the race and backed the canoe for \$500, against the steamer "Daniel Webster," Captain N. B. Coleman, commander. The canoe keel was polished and varnished to les-

sen friction, and she was manned by six vigorous, young, athletic rowers, of whom Mr. J. H. Goshorn was one, and the shores were lined with people to witness the race. The canoe soon came to grief, was upset by the steamer's waves, and the rowers got an unexpected and involuntary bath. Although the original bet between the steamer and the canoe was but \$500, it is said that \$5,000 to \$8,000 changed hands on the result. Several gentlemen won or lost several hundred dollars each, and the smaller bets were innumerable. Opinions were about equally divided and nearly everybody backed his judgment with a bet, from staid sober-sided citizens to the deck hands on the steamboats and the salt packers about the furnaces. Clerks and laborers drew their wages up to date, and bet every dollar they could raise. A sensational account of the race was published in the papers, at the time, throughout the west.

The two gentlemen above named (Captain Coleman and Mr. J. H. Goshorn), are now the only two survivors who participated in the exciting race.

In 1822 occurred one of the highest rises known in the Kanawha river. The water was around the court house. In 1832, and again in 1849, Charleston had severe visitations of the cholera. In May, 1844, a very narrow, but very violent hurricane or cyclone, passed over the lower end of the town. Mr. Joseph Caldwell lived in a two-story brick house, just above the present Farley House. After uprooting trees on both banks of the river, the hurricane, or cyclone, struck this house, taking off the upper story evenly, and took a bed, with two children sleeping in it, and landed them "right side up with care" in the garden, in the rear of the house, unhurt and unharmed. The course of the cyclone was south-west to northeast. It passed up Elk, up Two-Mile, over to Blue creek, and on. Its path was easily traceable from central Kentucky to central Pennsylvania, and how much farther is not known.

In 1861, Charleston was mostly inundated by the greatest "flood" that has occurred in the Kanawha since the valley was settled. Its extreme height above the present government standard low water gauge was 46 feet 10½ inches. The next highest water was in September, 1878, when the gauge marked 41 feet 7 inches. The first frame house was on Kanawha street, immediately below the court house lot. The next, on the south side of Kanawha, above Alderson street; and, about the same time, the old Central House, or Hoge building, on the northwest corner of Kanawha and Alderson streets. The date of these was 1812 to 1815. The first brick house was the Gabriel Garrou hatter's shop, on the bank, between Truslow and Alderson streets.

The first regular merchants were Henning & McFarland, in

1813; followed closely by Bureau, Scales & Summers, on the northwest corner of Summers and Kanawha streets.

In 1870, the first brick street pavement ever laid in America was laid here, in Capital street, by J. P. Hale.

In 1871, the street nomenclature of the city, which was in a very confused and unsatisfactory condition, was entirely reconstructed and officially recorded.

In the same year Spring Hill cemetery was established and laid out, by A. J. Vosburgh, C. E. It was named from the Chalybeate spring, on the hillside, near the cemetery road. The same year the Piedmont road was constructed. In May, 1871, Charleston was first lighted with gas, and in 1889 by electricity. In 1871, the first steam ferry was established here by J. P. Hale. In January, 1872, the Hale house, built by J. P. Hale, the finest hotel in West Virginia, was opened. It was destroyed by fire in 1885. To meet the growing wants of the rapidly growing city, a still larger hotel building was erected on the site of the old one, by Messrs. Ruffner Bros. in 1887. In January, 1872, the West Virginia legislature met here. In 1873, the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad was opened to travel.

In 1873, Summers street was paved with a combination pavement of hard-burned brick, with sand and board floor foundation, which has proved so satisfactory that no other street paving has since been used in the city. In 1873, the United States government began the improvement of the navigation of the Kanawha river, and established the engineer's office in this city. In 1875, Judge Lynch held his first court here. On the night of the 24th of December, some two or three hundred men marched orderly into town, took from the jail three murderers, Estep, Dawson and Hines, marched them up to the Campbell's creek bridge, swung them up by their necks and quietly dispersed to their several homes. In 1875, the "State Capitol on Wheels" was removed from Charleston to Wheeling. In 1885, it was again returned to Charleston, its now "permanent location." In 1884, the government post-office building was completed and occupied. Enlarged in 1889. In the same year (1884) the O. C. R. R., now K. & M., was completed to Charleston. In 1880, the Kanawha Military Academy was established by Maj. Thomas Snyder. In the same year, the Eureka Detective Agency was established by Capt. A. W. Burnett.

About 1883, the Ward patent water-tube boiler was perfected, and a manufactory established here by Mr. Charles Ward, the patentee.

Table of approximate population of Charleston at different periods since its first settlement:

1788 to 1790, seven houses.....	say..	35 persons
1798 to 1800, twelve houses.....	say..	60 "
1805 to 1810, twenty houses	say..	100 "
1820	say..	500 "
1830	say..	750 "
1840	say..	1,200 "
1850	say..	1,500 "
1860	say..	1,800 "
1870	say..	4,000 "
1880	say..	4,500 "
1886	say..	6,500 "
1890, incuding suburb.....	say..	10,000 "

About twenty per cent. of the population is colored.

In 1852, a young lady from one of the northern cities, who had been reared amid all the conveniences and luxuries of city life, came to Charleston to visit one of her "country cousins." Upon her return home, she reported that the Charlestonians were a charmingly simple-minded and worthy sort of people, but with, oh, such primitive ways! "Would you believe," said she, "that they still preach hell fire down there, and haul their water in barrels?"

Since 1886 a water works company is distributing an abundant supply of the wholesome beverage that "refreshes, but not inebriates." In 1885 the first ice machinery was erected here, by Lieut. M. Staunton, since when our citizens are enabled to keep cool, independently of Jack Frost, who, in this latitude, is capricious and unreliable. In 1884, the city hall, including the mayor's office, etc., was erected. In 1890 the first street railway was constructed and put in operation. In 1890 the first bridge was constructed across the Kanawha river at Charleston.

The first mayor of the city, under the organized city government, in 1861, was Mr. Jacob Goshorn. The first building, here for theatrical purposes was a temporary wooden structure, with a seating capacity for eight hundred persons, erected by J. P. Hale, in 1872. In 1873, the first substantial opera house was built by Dr. J. T. Cotton, Col. T. B. Swann and Mr. Joseph Shields, and called the Cotton Opera house; when the temporary structure above mentioned was converted into the first regular livery stable of the city, by W. L. Moffit, S. M. Smith, and others. The first dry docks were established at the mouth of Elk, in 1873, by J. J. Thaxton & Co., succeeded by Mr. J. E. Thayer, and later by the Charleston Dry Dock Co.

The first machine barrel factory (with capacity for one thousand barrels per day) was started by Morgan & Hale, in 1872. The first foundry and machine shop was erected by O. A. & W. T. Thayer, on the south side, in 1871. The first woolen mill had a small beginning by Messrs. Rand & Minsker, about 1866, in-

creased in 1868 by Messrs. Parsons, Appleton & Co., and largely extended in 1875 by Mr. Frank Woodman. The first wharf boat was established by H. W. Goodwin, in 1865. The temporary capitol building was erected in 1871; the permanent capitol was partly occupied in 1885, but only completed in 1886. The first public school building was put up in 1870. The first steam-power brick machinery was introduced in 1870, by J. P. Hale.

In 1815, Capt. James Wilson, who then owned and occupied the Clendennin blockhouse, bored a well near it, for salt water; he struck, at a few hundred feet, a large yield of natural gas. This is believed to have been the first natural gas well in America. In 1859, the Clendennin blockhouse property, which had but recently been occupied by Mr. F. Brooks, and known as the Brooks farm, lying between the present Brooks and Morris streets, and back to the hills, was cut up into building lots and sold out.

In 1862, a company called the "Charleston Extension Company," bought the Cox farm, or, as then more recently called, the Clarkson farm, and cut it up and sold it out for building purposes. Within a few years after, all the property lying back of the original town, and from Elk up to Bradford street, hitherto farms and orchards, were subdivided into building lots and put upon the market, and much of it is now built over.

In 1871, Mr. J. Brisbin Walker bought land on the lower side of Elk, had it laid out in a town plat, calling it "West Charleston," and sold lots. In 1884, the "Glen Elk company" purchased the land extending from the suspension bridge up Elk, on the lower side, laid it out in building lots for still another "annex" to the town called it Glen Elk, and are rapidly selling lots. Next the Glen Wood addition, below Elk, was laid out, then the Ruffner addition, above the city, and more recently the "South Side" hills have been bought up to lay out for suburban residences, and last, the Patrick farm down to Two Mile creek. So that, altogether, enough space is now appropriated for building purposes to make quite a large city when it shall all be occupied; and it has been growing more rapidly recently than at any former period of its history.

Upon the inauguration of the civil war in 1861, the following military companies were raised in Charleston and vicinity, in the interest of the southern cause: the Kanawha Riflemen, by Capt., afterward Col., George S. Patton; the Elk River Tigers, by Capt., afterward Col., T. B. Swann; the Charleston Sharpshooters, by Capt. John S. Swann; the Hale Artillery, by Dr. J. P. Hale; and a cavalry company, mostly from the upper end of the valley, by Dr. Ervin Lewis. These companies formed parts of the Twenty-second and Thirty-sixth Virginia regiments.

Later, several Federal companies were gotten up in the coun-

try round about Charleston, by Capt. Wood Blake, Maj. L. Martin, Maj. H. Slack, Dr. R. H. Lee, Capt. Green Slack, Jr., Maj. Gramm, etc. These companies were united with the Fourth, Seventh, Eighth and Thirteenth regiments.

In July, 1861, Gen. Wise, then in command of the southern forces here, evacuated the valley and it was occupied by the Federals, under Gen. J. D. Cox.

In September, 1862, the southern army, under Gen. Loring, re-entered the valley, and Gen. Lightburn, then in command, retired. There was a slight skirmish in and about Charleston, and a few killed on each side, eight or ten in all. The Federals, before retreating, burned several of our prominent buildings, among them the bank of Virginia, the Kanawha house, the Southern Methodist church, the Brooks store and warehouse, etc.

In October following, Gen. Loring, and a few days later, Gen. Echols, again retired, and the town was re-occupied by the Federals, under Gen. Cox; and remained in Federal possession, under several successive commanders until the termination of the war. The writer will not attempt a history of the military campaigns of the valley during the late war. This is being done by more competent hands.

The first dray and hearse were introduced here by Noah Colley, an enterprising colored man, early in the thirties, and for a long time he had a practical monopoly of the town transportation, *for* the living and *of* the dead. Previous to that time the transportation to and from the river and steamboats and elsewhere was chiefly by sleds and carts, drawn by oxen, and the country transportation was by pack-horses, on pack-saddles.

The first pottery-ware establishment for manufacturing milk-crocks, whiskey jugs, etc., was by Stephen Shepherd, about 1818.

The first to carry on the hatter's trade was Gabriel Garrou, about 1816. The first tailor was James Truslow, about 1815. The first regularly established shoemaker was, probably, George Mitchell, about 1815. The wagon and cart makers were not established in town, but up among the salt furnaces. Up to 1840, and after, there were few or no mosquitoes here, and, consequently, mosquito bars were unknown. The first wholesale grocery established here was by Messrs. Ruby & Hale, in 1872, followed by Messrs. Ruffner Brothers, in 1876, and Messrs. P. H. Noyes & Co., in 1883. The first wholesale dry goods house was by Messrs. Jelenko Brothers, in 1874, followed by Messrs. Arnold & Abney, in 1882. The first wholesale hardware dealers were Messrs. W. F. & J. H. Goshorn, in 1875, followed by Messrs. N. Berlew & Co., in 1883. The first liquor wholesalers were Messrs. S. Strauss & Co., in 1876; followed by Charles Capito, in 1885. The first wholesale shoe house was by Messrs. Jelenko & Loeb, in 1877, followed by Mr. John Anderson, in 1878.

Near the intersection of Kanawha and Goshorn streets there seems to have been an ancient burying ground of some primitive race. The caving of the bank and occasional excavations expose the remains and relics of this departed people. The writer has a handsome celt dug up there about six feet below the surface.

Charleston was visited, in 1796, by Volney, the distinguished French historian, philosopher and free thinker; and, in 1812, by the great naturalist, Audubon.

Gen. Washington, Gen. Lewis, Col. Bullitt, Albert Gallatin, DeWitt Clinton and others were extensive land locators here "in an early day."

In the early salt, flat-boating times, here, the boatmen gave the Kanawha the nick-name of "Old Greasy," on account of the petroleum that then flowed in greater or less quantities from the salt-wells, and covered the surface of the water with its beautiful iridescent hues.

Charleston and Cincinnati were both settled in the same year (1788), the former in May and the latter in December, so that Charleston is the older by several months.

To go back to the semi-centennial of Charleston, or half a century ago, and half a century after the first settlement — say to 1838 to '40 — and give the names and occupations of the then citizens, who were worrying themselves over the same social, political, financial and bread and butter problems that are exercising us now, may interest some readers and serve to pleasantly revive the recollections of those whose memories go back that far. The following approximate list is given for such as may feel an interest in it:

"Charley Brown, ferryman and farmer; (Scotch) James Wilson, lawyer; Joseph Caldwell, merchant; Charles Neal, carpenter; Gabriel Garrou, hatter; John Hull, blacksmith; J. Mays, boatman; Judy Grinnan, colored, washerwoman; Nancy Gibson, colored, washerwoman; Henry B. Saunders, hotel keeper and stage runner; John Snyder, preacher; George Goshorn, hotel and ferry keeper; Justin White, baker; William Hutt, constable; Silas Cobb, carpenter; Matthew Dunbar, lawyer; Crockett Ingles, merchant and salt maker; John Mays, hotel keeper and builder; Andrew Beach, shoemaker; John Wilson, carpenter; George W. Summers, lawyer; John and Charles Allen, grocers and bakers; Aaron Whittaker, hotel keeper and merchant; Franklin Reynolds, salt inspector; Samuel Hannah, bank cashier; Captain James Wilson, hotel and ferry keeper; Lewis D. Wilson, hotel and ferry keeper; Mrs. Aletha Brigham, young ladies' school teacher; Benj. H. Smith, lawyer; William Whittaker, Sr., river toll collector; Thomas Whittaker, merchant and saw-miller; Norris Whittaker, brick maker and builder; Dr. Car-

uthers, physician and author; John Hall, blacksmith; William Honeyman, silversmith and watchmaker; Garrett Kelley, tailor; Gilbert Adams, merchant; James C. McFarland, bank president; Dr. Spicer Patrick, physician; Mason Campbell, editor and merchant; John Truejohn, carpenter and builder; Rev. James M. Brown, preacher; Henry Fitzhugh, Sr.; Rev. James Craik, preacher; Joseph Friend, saltmaker and merchant; Dr. Thompson C. Watkins, physician; Isaac Noyes, saltmaker; Frederick Brooks, salt maker; C. E. Doddridge, lawyer; William J. Rand, merchant and saltmaker; Henry McFarland, merchant; James H. Fry, sheriff and salt maker; Bradford Noyes, farmer; James Y. Querrier, deputy sheriff; Ezra Walker, superintendent James river and Kanawha improvement; James L. Carr, lawyer. James Hendricks, lawyer; Noah Colley, colored, dray and hearse runner; Dock & Gabe, colored, coal haulers; Andrew Cunningham, brickmason; Thomas C. Thomas, carpenter and builder; Mrs. Snyder, widow; William W. Kelley, saddle and harness maker; William A. Kelley, jailer; Thomas R. Fife, carpenter and builder; Alexander W. Quarrier, county clerk; Mrs. Todd, widow; James A. Lewis, merchant and postmaster; Franklin Noyes, merchant and salt maker; William R. Cox, salt maker and farmer; Mrs. Chiltan, widow; James G. Taylor, cabinet maker; John M. Doddridge, bank teller; James M. Laidley, lawyer; John Welch, merchant; Joel Shrewsberry, Jr., merchant and salt maker; Snelling C. Farley, tailor and steamboat captain; Dr. Henry Rogers, druggist and physician; Jacob Rand, teacher; John A. Truslow, tailor; James Truslow, tailor; John F. Faure, merchant and salt maker; Joseph Lovell, lawyer and salt maker; Stephen Shepherd, crockeryware maker; John Starks, carpenter; Nelson B. Coleman, merchant, salt maker and steamboat captain; Joseph Bibby, miller; Rev. James R. Baldwin, preacher; John G. M. Spriggle, butcher; Dr. Noah Cushman, physician; William Hatcher, deputy clerk and jailer; William Gillison, magistrate; Mrs. S. Cook, widow.

Just above the town, to the head of the bottom, lived Blackwood Chilton, Mrs. Harshbarger, Daniel Ruffner, and the several sons of the latter: Charles, Joel, Augustus, Andrew and James.

The early settlers of a new locality are generally an enterprising, wide-awake, progressive people. It is such people who have the pluck and energy to sever their relations with an old community and go to a new; to "go West and grow up with the country"; or to go West and build up a country. From all the accounts we have of them, the earlier settlers of Charleston and vicinity were no exception to this rule. On the contrary, these characteristics were probably exceptionally emphasized in their cases; and for racy, sprightly wit and fresh originality, in addi-

tion to their general intellectual developments, I doubt if they were excelled by the builders of any other western town.

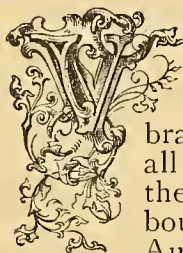
There is still afloat here, handed down traditionally, a fund of humorous and racy anecdote in relation to the smart sayings, doings, and practical jokings of these old worthies that would fill a volume, if gathered together; and there are still surviving a few connecting links between the past and the present, who still delight to tell over, and their listeners are delighted to hear, the oft told stories of these lingering remnants of the rear-guard of the long-ago.

"They were such men, take them for all in all,
We shall not look upon their like again."



CHAPTER XIV.

ORANGE COUNTY.



VIRGINIA organized the county of Orange, so-called from the color of the soil of that portion lying east of the Blue Ridge, in 1734. Orange county embraced not only the area east of the Blue Ridge, but all the indefinite territorial claims of the colony from the Blue Ridge to the Pacific ocean. In 1738, the bounds of Orange were curtailed by the formation of Augusta and Frederick counties, covering all Virginia territory west of the Blue Ridge, and limiting Orange to the small area lying east of the Ridge.

In 1748, when settlements were begun west of the Alleghenies, Augusta county (excepting the comparatively small area in the lower part of the valley of Virginia covered by Frederick county) included the same great scope of western country lately Orange county.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, its western bounds were limited by the Mississippi river; but, even then, it covered (excepting Frederick, as above), the vast territory now embracing all of the state of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

In 1748, the entire white population of this vast area was but a few hundred souls, all within the valley of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies; now, the aggregate population is about 10,000,000.

It may be a matter of curious interest to some, and valuable as a table of reference to others, to give a list of the progressive subdivisions into smaller counties, and the dates thereof, of that portion of this vast county (and of Frederick) still within the limits of Virginia and West Virginia, and between the Blue Ridge and the Ohio river:

AUGUSTA COUNTY AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS, INCLUDING FREDERICK.

Augusta and Frederick	Fincastle.....	1772
formed	Montgomery	} 1776
Hampshire.....	Washington	
Bottetourt	Kentucky	
Berkely	Fincastleabolished }	
Dunmore	Ohio county formed.....	1776

Bounds of West Augusta de- fined.....	1776	Jackson.....	1831
Monongalia.....	1776	Marshall.....	1835
Youghiogheny*.....	1776	Braxton.....	1836
Shenandoah†.....	1777	Clarke.....	1836
Greenbrier.....	1777	Mercer.....	1837
Rockbridge.....	1777	Roanoke.....	1838
Rockingham.....	1778	Pulaski.....	1839
Harrison.....	1778	Carroll.....	1842
Hardy.....	1786	Marion.....	1842
Russell.....	1786	Wayne.....	1842
Randolph.....	1787	Ritchie.....	1843
Pendleton.....	1788	Gilmer.....	1843
Kanawha.....	1789	Barbour.....	1843
Wythe.....	1790	Taylor.....	1844
Bath.....	1791	Doddridge.....	1845
Lee.....	1792	Wetzel.....	1846
Grayson.....	1793	Highland.....	1847
Brooke.....	1797	Boone.....	1847
Monroe.....	1799	Wirt.....	1848
Tazewell.....	1799	Hancock.....	1848
Wood.....	1799	Putnam.....	1848
Jefferson.....	1801	Wyoming.....	1850
Mason.....	1804	Raleigh.....	1850
Giles.....	1806	Upshur.....	1851
Cabell.....	1809	Pleasants.....	1851
Scott.....	1814	Calhoun.....	1855
Tyler.....	1814	Wise.....	1855
Lewis.....	1816	Roane.....	1856
Preston.....	1818	Clay.....	1856
Nicholas.....	1818	Tucker.....	1856
Morgan.....	1820	McDowell.....	1858
Pocahontas.....	1821	Buchanan.....	1858
Allegheny.....	1822	Webster.....	1860
Logan.....	1824	Bland.....	1861
Page.....	1831	Mineral.....	1866
Fayette.....	1831	Grant.....	1866
Floyd.....	1831	Lincoln.....	1867
Smyth.....	1831	Summers.....	1871
		Dickinson.....	1880

*Youghiogheny abolished when the State line between Virginia and Pennsylvania was settled.

†Instead of Dunmore, and Dunmore abolished.

CHAPTER XV.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

THE GREAT KANAWHA RIVER—HISTORY OF ITS NAVIGATION AND IMPROVEMENTS—ABORIGINAL METHODS—SILENT GLIDE OF THE BIRCH-BARK CANOE—ADVENT OF THE PIONEERS—FLAT-BOATS AND BATTEAUX—FIRST STEAMBOAT—REVOLUTION ACCOMPLISHED THEREBY—PLANS TO IMPROVE THE CHANNEL—ELABORATE SYSTEM OF LOCKS AND DAMS—CHARACTER AND COST OF THE WORK.—STATISTICS OF COAL SHIPMENTS.

BEFORE the advent of the white man the only water crafts that had ever floated on the bosom of this beautiful stream were the bark canoes and more substantial dug-outs of the aboriginal tribes. The first record of its navigation by whites was in September, 1774, when Gen. Andrew Lewis, on his way to Point Pleasant with his army, had some canoes constructed at the mouth of Elk river, on the present site of this city, in which he transported at least a portion of his army supplies and ammunition, which had been brought this far by pack-horses, which were much jaded and worn by the hardships of the rough journey. In 1788, when Clendenin's fort, or Fort Lewis, at this point was apprehensive of an attack by Indians, Fleming Cobb, an expert waterman and woodsman, was dispatched to Fort Randolph, at Point Pleasant, by canoe single-handed, for a supply of powder and lead. He made the trip successfully, though at great risk and by a narrow escape from Indians, by whom he was pursued. During the same year the inmates of Fort Tackett, at the mouth of Coal river, being out of salt, sent a canoe up to the Salt spring at the mouth of Campbell's creek, filled it with salt water, floated it back to their fort, where they dipped it out and boiled it down in their kettles and pots, saving the residual salt. Not long after this, Fort Tackett was attacked by the Indians, and nearly all the inmates killed or captured; but John Young made his escape under cover of darkness, by carrying his young wife and a one-day-old babe in his arms to a canoe at the river banks (probably the same that had brought down the salt water) and "poled" his way up to the Clendenin fort, during the night, and through a rain storm.

When salt began to be made here in quantities greater than the neighborhood demanded, it was shipped to the new settlements

down the river, in canoes. The first shipment on a more pretentious scale was in 1808, when a log raft was formed by fastening the logs together with hickory poles, when a lot of salt was packed in empty bacon hogsheads and barrels and placed on it and floated down the river to the new settlements.

When the Indian troubles and dangers were somewhat quieted, and settlements were begun, first in northern Kentucky, and later in southern Ohio and Indiana, there was a large emigration through this valley to those new and wild western homes. They came across the mountains to this river, embarking at the mouths of Hughes' and Kelley's creeks, where there were boat-yards, and family moving boats were constructed for their accommodation. The salt interest, as it grew in extent and importance, adopted this method of transportation, increasing the size and capacity of the boats until they finally got up to over 300 tons burden, carrying 2,000 to 22,000 barrels of salt. This class of boats was not suited to up-stream navigation, and were usually sold for what they would fetch below. The early up-stream freighting of family supplies &c., was by ribbed, keel bottomed boats, called batteaux. These goods came to this valley in the early days from the new towns of Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Limestone (now Maysville).

The first steamboat to attempt the navigation of this river in the early days of steamboating on the western waters, was the Robert Thompson, in 1819. She ascended as far as Red House Shoals, but lacking power to stem the swift current at that place, abandoned the effort and returned. In December, 1820, the Andrew Donnally, a steamer built for Messrs. Andrew Donnally and Isaac Noyes, salt-makers of this neighborhood, made the first successful run to Charleston, and others soon followed, thus inaugurating the era of steam navigation on this river. Previous to 1820 there had been no formal or organized effort made to improve the navigation of the river. A few rocks and sunken logs had been removed from the natural channel, and projecting trees and pendant limbs cut off by the early flat-boatmen who steered out the primitive salt-boats and moving plunder-boats of the early western emigrants; but the failure of the Thompson and the success of the Donnally were so significant and suggestive, and were considered of so much importance by the legislature of Virginia, that at their session of 1820-21 they passed an order directing the James River & Kanawha Company — in which the state held large stock — to so improve the navigation of the Kanawha river as to secure not less than three feet depth of water for navigation all the year round, from the mouth to the falls, about ninety miles. Little did they then appreciate the magnitude of the problem they had attempted to solve.

The execution of this order was delayed, awaiting preliminary

examinations and surveys, until 1825, when a system of sluices and wing dams was commenced and prosecuted for some years.

Messrs. Moore & Briggs were the contractors. They cut the old chute through the rock at Red House; the chute between the Islands and through the tow-head at Tyler; cut the sluice and built the wing dams at Debby, Eighteen, Knob, Tackett, Johnson, etc., so well remembered by the old salt flat-boatmen of thirty to fifty years ago.

In 1838 the James River & Kanawha company ordered a thorough survey of the river, with a view to securing $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of navigable water at all seasons. This survey was made by Mr. Edward H. Gill, engineer, under Col. Charles Ellett, Jr., chief engineer of the company, but no further steps were taken at the time.

About 1855-6 there were commenced large shipments of Cannel coal from Cannelton and from Elk river; Splint coal from Fields' creek, from about Paint creek, Armstrong's creek, etc. Also large shipments of Cannel coal oil, manufactured at Cannelton, on Paint creek, on Elk river, etc. This was before the days of oil wells, and as both the coal and the oil shipments were then expected to increase to a very large extent, and as salt was then very largely manufactured here, a better navigation soon was urgently demanded.

The James River & Kanawha company, acting with and through a sub-board of directors at Kanawha, undertook to provide such facilities for navigation as the then wants of the country required. A new survey of the river was made in 1855, by Engineer John A. Byers, under Charles B. Fisk, chief engineer of the company. Two systems of river improvements were pretty thoroughly examined and discussed by the board; the sluice and wing dam plan, and the reservoir plan; the latter proposed in 1860, and advocated by the late eminent engineer, Charles Ellett. This plan, which contemplated large lake-like reservoirs near the heads of the streams — chiefly on Gauley river — the water to be let out as required to keep up a navigable stage of water in the Kanawha, below, received very favorable consideration; but though plausible, it was an untried experiment, and the conservative boards decided to enlarge, improve and extend the old sluice and wing-dam system; and about 1860 put the work under contract to Messrs. Barton & Robinson, and it was in progress when suspended by the late war.

After the separation of the state, in 1863, West Virginia took charge of the Kanawha river, and created a Kanawha river board to carry on this improvement, collect the tolls, etc., as the James river & Kanawha company had been doing.

Notwithstanding the fact that the navigation had been greatly improved within the past few years, it was manifestly

inadequate to the wants of the rapidly increasing population and business of the valley. Having admittedly the finest coal field on the continent, it was practically almost valueless for want of safe, reliable and economical transportation to markets. As there was no local financial ability equal to the task of constructing such an improvement as would fully develop this great interest, and effectually serve it and the other rapidly growing interests of the valley, it was determined to apply to the general government for aid in the matter.

About 1871-2 a lively interest was gotten up throughout the west in relation to the improvement of the navigation of the internal water ways by the general government. A commission was appointed by the several states bordering on the Ohio river and tributaries, to gather facts and statistics in regard to the trade, the capacities and the wants of the improvable rivers.

In the line of their duties the commission went to Washington and submitted to the senate committee on transportation, facts, figures and arguments in relation to the improvement of the several rivers, the Great Kanawha included; they also had a conference with President Grant, who was very favorable to, and encouraged this class of public improvements.

About this time there was a strong revival of the old Washingtonian idea of connecting the Ohio river and tide water, through the James and the Kanawha rivers, and the extension of the James river and Kanawha canal. At the suggestion of the commission, supported by the representatives of the states above mentioned, congress appointed a senatorial committee composed of Senators Windom, Conklin, Sherman, Bayard, Beck and Henry G. Davis, accompanied by the able government engineers, Gen. Q. A. Gilmore, Col. Godfrey Weitzell and Col. W. E. Merrill to go over the ground, investigate the subject generally and fully, and report as to the importance, practicability and cost. They published a voluminous and thoroughly favorable report, and the government decided to at least improve the navigation of the Kanawha river, which was needed as a local work, and could be used as a part of the through line, if that should ever be constructed.

Commencing in a small way the government, in 1872-3, made two small appropriations of \$25,000 each, and work was begun on the river in June, 1873, under charge of Col. W. E. Merrill, of the United States engineer corps. The first work was to extend, on a large scale, what the Kanawha board was doing in a smaller way, that is, dredging out the sluices and building wing-dams, to accommodate the immediate and current needs of navigation; but, it was conceded that nothing short of slack water, by locks and dams, would give a reliable, safe and permanent navigation.

In August, 1874, the work was placed under charge of Col.

William P. Craighill. In March following, congress appropriated \$300,000, with which to commence the permanent improvement of the river. Soon after, a board of engineers, consisting of Gen. H. G. Wright, Col. William P. Craighill and Gen. O. M. Poe, recommended the adoption of the lock and dam slack-water improvement, with the use of permanent dams at or above Paint creek, and movable, or adjustable dams below that point. The recommendation was approved and adopted by the authorities at Washington, and in the fall of 1875 locks Nos. 4 and 5 were put under contract.

It was at first contemplated to have eleven locks and dams from the falls to the mouth of the river; the three upper ones to be fixed, or permanent dams, and the eight lower ones to be movable or adjustable. The plan has since been somewhat modified. One of the eight movable dams will be dispensed with, dividing the fall between the other seven, thus somewhat increasing the lift of each. The original estimate of the cost of the entire work, was \$4,071,216, which will probably be somewhat varied by the changes made. Listing the dams in numerical order, commence above:

No. 1 was to have been located at or near the mouth of Loup creek, about thirty-two miles above Charleston. This has not been built. No. 2 is one mile below Cannelton and Coal valley, and twenty-six miles above Charleston. It is a fixed dam, has a lift of twelve feet and pools the water to Loup creek, about six miles above. It was completed in 1887.

No. 3 is just below the mouth of Paint creek, about twenty-one miles above Charleston. This is also a fixed dam, has a lift of twelve feet and pools the water to No. 2, about five miles. It was completed in 1882.

No. 4 is just below the mouth of Cabin creek, about fifteen miles above Charleston. This is an adjustable dam, has a lift of seven feet and pools the water to No. 3, about six and one-fourth miles. It was completed in 1880.

No. 5 is just below Brownstown about $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles above Charleston, is an adjustable dam, has a lift of 7 feet and pools the water to No. 4, about $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles. It was completed in 1880.

No. 6 is near the mouths of Tyler and Davis creeks, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Charleston, is an adjustable dam, has a lift of $8\frac{1}{4}$ and pools the water to No. 5, about $13\frac{3}{4}$ miles. It was completed in 1886.

No. 7 is located $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles below the mouth of Coal river, 14 miles below Charleston, is an adjustable dam, with $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet lift, and pools the water to No. 6 about 10 miles.

No. 8 is located $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Raymond City, about 22 miles below Charleston, has a lift of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and pools the water to No. 7, about $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

Nos. 7 and 8 are under contract and now under construction and are expected to be completed during the summer of 1891.

The remaining three locks and dams, Nos. 9, 10 and 11, are to be located as follows: No. 9, $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles below Winfield and about 33 miles below Charleston, will have a lift of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet and a pool of $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. No. 10, near Debby's Ripple, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Buffalo and $39\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Charleston, will have a lift of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet and a pool of 7 miles. No. 11, and the last, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles above the mouth of the Kanawha and $56\frac{1}{4}$ miles below Charleston, will have a lift of $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet and a pool of $16\frac{3}{4}$ miles. These three last named will all have the movable or adjustable dams. If the necessary appropriations are made, one or more of them will probably be put under contract in time for work to be commenced on them next spring, and it is now hoped that they will be completed by the summer or fall of 1894.

These movable or adjustable dams are so constructed that they can be raised or lowered at pleasure, according to the stage of water in the river. The ingenious arrangement by which the wickets are hung and the raising and lowering of the dams and bridges are accomplished is the invention of M. Chenoine, a French engineer. The dams are largely introduced and in use in France, but those of Kanawha were the *first* to be introduced in America. Both Col. Craighill, engineer in charge, and Mr. Addison M. Scott, resident engineer, have visited France within a few years past, and carefully inspected this type of dams and their operation there. This, together with a thorough knowledge of our local wants, brought out some adaptive modifications of details to more thoroughly fit them for satisfactory service in our river. As the building and operating of each lock and dam naturally suggested changes and improvements, it is believed that No. 6, the last completed, is more nearly perfect than any of its predecessors. The improvements in No. 6 are being adopted in Nos. 7 and 8 and doubtless will be in Nos. 9, 10 and 11.

As many will no doubt be interested to know more in detail of the *modus operandi* of constructing and operating this Chenoine system of adjustable dams, Mr. Scott, the resident engineer, has kindly prepared a descriptive statement relating chiefly to No. 6, which is so full, minute and accurate as to leave nothing further to be desired.

His statement here follows:

Lock and Dam No. 6—The Lock.—The extreme length of the lock is $410\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It is 342 feet long between quoins and 55 feet wide, in the chamber, at top of miter sill.

It is all of first class mortared masonry, faced with cut and smooth pointed stone, built on the solid rock. The rock was found here at depths from 11 to 22 feet below low water mark.

The top of the coping is 21 feet 9 inches above the miter sills.

The foundations extend from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the sills, making the walls from about 27 to 38 feet in height from the rock.

The walls are from 15 to 19 feet thick at the bottom, and from 5 to 17 feet thick at the top. The lock-gates are of white oak, strongly bolted and ironed. The filling and emptying valves are in the gates, 5 valves in each leaf. Each gate leaf weighs about 38 tons. They rest and turn on steel pivots and are suspended at the top by iron, steel and bronze fastenings, attached to heavy wrought anchors built in the masonry. The upper fastenings are all below level of coping and are covered with movable cast iron plates.

The lock chamber has a clear working space of 312 feet in length by 55 in width, sufficient to admit one of our largest tow-boats, with three of the largest sized coal barges, at once.

The lift of the lock in extreme low water, before No. 7 is built will be 11 feet. After No. 7 is built, the maximum lift will be 8 feet 3 inches.

The Movable Dam.—The entire length of the dam, between the outer face of lock wall and abutment, embracing the navigation pass, the central pier and the weir, is $568\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The foundations are entirely of masonry and concrete resting on solid rock. The average depth of rock, on the line of the dam, is about 12 feet below low water mark.

The sill of the pass is 2 feet 7 inches below low water. There will be $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water on the pass sill when the dam is up and the pool full. The foundations of the pass are 50 feet long up and down stream. The pass is closed by 62 Chanoine wickets. The wickets are 3 feet 8 inches wide, or 4 feet between centers (there being a 4 inch space between each), and 13 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The pass bridge is composed of 30 wrought iron trestles. The trestles are nearly 12 feet wide on the bottom, 4 feet 1 inch on top and 16 feet 8 inches high. They are connected, when standing by 4 inch "I" beams, which form the track for the maneuvering winch, and light wrought iron aprons, which make the floor to walk on. The pass is separated from the weir by the central pier. This is of cut stone masonry $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 10 feet wide. It is built on bed rock, and is about 26 feet high, the top of it being level with the top of the service bridge. The bridge, when lowered falls toward the pier, and there is a deep recess in the pier into which the nearest trestle lies when the dam is down. The weir is 310 feet 6 inches long. It is closed with 69 Chanoine wickets each 7 feet 8 inches high and 4 feet 3 inches wide. The weir bridge is like that for the pass, in construction, but the trestles are not as high. It is connected, when standing, with rails and aprons like the pass, and with those of the latter form a continuous track for the traveling winch, and a foot walk the whole length of the dam, from the abutment to lock. The foundations

of the weir are built entirely of masonry, concrete and iron. A peculiar feature of this weir is the cast iron sills. The wooden sills, etc., at dams 4 and 5, of this improvement, were found to decay rapidly, and iron was accordingly used at No. 6. The iron sills, trestles and wicket boxes etc., are bolted to the cut stone coping, making the upper surface of this part of the dam practically indestructible.

As before mentioned, the foundations of this dam, throughout, are of masonry or concrete. In dams 4 and 5 (both finished in 1880) a great deal of oak timber was used in the foundations of both navigation pass and weir. This timber was framed and bolted together and filled in with concrete. It was found generally more expensive than masonry and was abandoned, as far as possible, in the construction of No. 6. The stone work was found not only better and cheaper than timber, but could be placed faster and saved valuable time in construction. The foundations of the dam were constructed within coffer dams built in sections across the river, from which the water was kept exhausted by large steam pumps.

The pool formed by this work (lock and dam No. 6) is nearly 14 miles long; one of the longest and finest slack-water lakes anywhere to be found. At lock No. 5, the head of the pool, it raises the water 3 feet 9 inches above low water mark, making 7 feet depth on the lower miter sill there. It will, with a small amount of dredging at two or three high points, make good 6½ feet for navigation everywhere in the pool at extreme low water. It raises the water at Charleston, 4 feet 8 inches above low water mark, and makes good 7 feet depth for tows at that old "sticking place"—the foot of Elk shoal. It makes miles of splendid holding ground for loaded coal barges, affording good water for this purpose, almost every where in the pool. At Campbell's creek, where there has, heretofore, been so much trouble with boats getting on the bottom in low stages, it makes plenty of water for full loaded boats. No. 6 pool is no doubt destined to be one of the largest and most important coal harbors in the world.

Lock and dam No. 6 were built almost entirely by contract, and the government was fortunate in getting good contractors, particularly so for the important parts of the work—the building of the lock and the foundations and masonry of the dams. The contractors for the lock were Harris & Black, of Pennsylvania, who began in the spring of 1881, and finished in November, 1883. Owing to lack of funds the dam was not commenced till the fall of 1884. Harrold & McDonald, of Pittsburgh, were the contractors for the foundations and masonry of the dam. They were a little over two years employed—from September, 1884, to October, 1886. The irons for the work were furnished under regular contracts by the following parties: Irons for founda-

tions by O. A. & W. T. Thayer, of Charleston; irons for movable parts of navigation pass by the Sneed & Company Iron Works of Louisville, Ky.; irons for weir, including the winches, by Ainslie, Cochran & Co., of Louisville, Ky.; the valves and other irons for lock gates, also by Ainslie, Cochran & Co. The total cost of lock and dam No. 6, including grounds, buildings and outfit complete, was a little under \$337,000. Movable dams are kept up during low stages, and down in high water. Their advantages over permanent dams, on a river like the Kanawha, are of course very great. On Kanawha we have on an average about five months in the year when there is plenty of water in the river for open coal boat navigation, during which time it would, of course, be a serious inconvenience and delay to pass everything through the locks. Permanent dams compel the use of the locks the whole year round. With movable dams, the locks are used only when the water is so low as to make them necessary. At all other times the dams are down, flat on the river bottom, out of the way, affording a free unobstructed open navigation; an important consideration for all classes of commerce, but particularly so for coal, handled, as it is, in large fleets.

The First Movable Dams in America.—The great advantages of movable dams have long been recognized in Europe. In 1878 there were 124 movable dams in operation in France alone. The Great Kanawha had the honor of possessing the first movable dam in America. Dams Nos. 4 and 5 (the latter located at Brownstown, nine miles above Charleston, and the other at Cabin creek, six miles farther up), were completed in July, 1880, and have been in successful operation ever since. Dams 4 and 5 are both of the Chanoine type (the Davis Island dam on the Ohio below Pittsburgh, completed in 1885, is the same pattern), and although at Dam No. 6 a great many improvements have been made in construction and details, the general principles of all three of the Kanawha movable dams are about the same. They are practically the same, too, as regards width of navigation pass and dimensions of the pass wickets. The pass wickets at No. 6, as before stated, are thirteen feet five and one-half inches long; those at dams 4 and 5 are thirteen feet ten inches long. The Davis Island wickets are thirteen feet long. The Great Kanawha wickets, with the exception of one dam in France, are thought to be the largest ever constructed.

The wickets, when erected form the dam. They are raised and lowered by men from the bridge, operating a winch which runs on the bridge track. The wickets are hung or hinged near their center to an iron frame called the horse. The bottom of the horse is attached, by journals, to the foundations of the dam. The wicket, when erect, is mainly supported by a heavy iron bar

called the prop, which has journal connection with the top of the horse. The lower end of the prop, when the dam is up, rests against a cast iron piece called the hurter. When the dam is to be lowered, the top of the wickets, one wicket at a time, is pulled a few inches up stream (by the winch from the bridge), which disengages the foot of the prop and allows the wicket, with its horse and prop to fall down. After the wickets are all down the bridge is next lowered (it falls across the river) trestle by trestle. The wickets and trestles when down all lie flat on the masonry foundation of the dam, behind the sills, out of the way of passing boats.

In raising, the bridge is first put up, trestle by trestle (they are all connected together by chains), and the rails forming the track placed as fast as the trestles are raised. When the bridge is all up, the traveling winch is put on the track, and the raising of the wickets, or the dam proper, begins. Each wicket has a strong chain fast to the bottom end, the other end of which is fastened to the trestle when the dam is down. In raising the wickets the wicket chain is made fast to the drum of the winch, and wound up till the lower end of the prop comes in place in the hurter seat, which holds the wicket erect. The wickets are not righted as fast as drawn up, however, but left "on the swing" as it is called, that is, with the horse erect and the end of the prop in place in the hurter, but the wicket in a horizontal position at the top of the horse. In this position the water passes under the wicket unobstructed. If the wickets were righted as raised, the head of water would become so great, before all were up, that the last wickets could not be safely handled. For this reason they are all first put on the swing, as described, and then righted, one after the other as rapidly as possible.

Four men are employed regularly about each lock and dam. The same number are required at the permanent dams as at the movable ones. The average time taken to entirely raise one of the Great Kanawha dams may be taken at about nine hours. To lower the dam entirely usually takes the four men about four hours, though this maneuver has frequently been made, at dams 4 and 5, inside of three hours. Dam 6 has been lowered in two hours.

The following shows the amount expended in maintaining and operating the three (then completed) locks and dams on the Great Kanawha, during the year ending June 30th, 1886. It is from Col. Craighill's report to the chief of engineers, and includes repairs, pay of lock hands, and all expenses. About \$450 of the expenditure at lock No. 3 was for rip-rapping the banks:

Lock and dam No. 3 (Permanent dam),	- - - - -	\$2,575.63
Lock and dam No. 4 (Movable dam),	- - - - -	2,182.58
Lock and dam No. 5 (Movable dam),	- - - - -	2,245.11

At each lock and dam completed the government has erected comfortable houses for the accomodation of the lock-keepers; and the employes at each lock are in telephonic communication with the engineer's office in this city, and with each other at all times. The engineer force keeps a small steamer, the "B," to transport their supplies, material and labor from one point on the improvement to another, and to tow their dredges, boats &c.

The engineering force on the work from the commencement to date, was as follows: Col. William E. Merrill, of the U. S. corps of engineers, was in charge of the work from the commencement, in 1873, to August, 1874. Col. William P. Craighill has been in charge from August 1874, to date, a period of over sixteen years. Mr. Addison M. Scott, C. E., was the local or resident engineer from the commencement of the work by the government in 1873, to August, 1876, when Capt. Thomas Turtle was appointed, and remained in local charge till the fall of 1880. Under Capt. Turtle the following engineers were employed: Mr. Addison M. Scott, principal assistant, mainly on construction of locks and dams Nos. 4 and 5, Mr. C. K. McDermott, Mr. John S. Hoge, Mr. N. A. Bailie and Mr. Charles Humphries. Capt. E. H. Ruffner was the resident engineer during 1881 and 1882 with about the same assistants and organization.

Mr. Scott has been the resident engineer since January, 1883, assisted mainly by Thomas E. Jeffries, engaged particularly on locks and dams Nos. 6 and 7, and by Mr. T. Shoonmaker at lock and dam No. 2, and latterly at No. 8. The Kanawha board continued their dredging and other work, co-operating with the government engineers until 1883, when the board was discontinued, the tolls abolished and the river and improvement fully turned over to the government. The elevation of the Kanawha river at its mouth, at low-water stage, is 510 feet above sea-level. At the foot of Loup creek shoal, the upper point to which slack water goes, it is 596 feet, thus giving a fall of 86 feet in 90 miles, a small fraction less than 1 foot per mile. This 86 feet divided between 10 locks gives an average lift of 8.6 feet each. The velocity of current due to a fall of 1 foot to the mile is 2 to 6 miles per hour, according to stage of water. Measurements to ascertain the water discharge of the river at different stages have several times been made, with results as follows: In 1881, when the water was lower than since 1838 (the lowest ever known), and one-tenth of a foot below the zero gauge, the discharge, below Elk river, was 1,183.5 cubic feet per second.

In 1878, measurements were made when there was $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet water above low-water mark. The discharge below Elk river was 188,347 cubic feet per second. Of this it was shown by measurement, that Elk river furnished 32,959 cubic feet per second,

The discharge between these two wide extremes would, of course, vary according to the stage of water.

This improvement when completed will put this region in more reliable, safe and economical communication with the great and rapidly increasing coal markets of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys than any other source from which supplies can be derived. When the improvement was commenced, in 1873, there were but a few hundred thousand bushels of coal shipped from this valley, per year; now the shipments have reached nearly 50,000,000 bushels per year, and it is reasonably probable that with the increased development of the mines now in operation, together with the many new ones that will doubtless be encouraged to start up as the work progresses toward completion, the annual output will be doubled or trebled by the time the work is completed. The effect of this development, current and prospective, on all the other interests of the valley will be readily seen, and need not be dwelt upon here.

Records kept by the engineers for a number of years show that in Kanawha river (below the locks) there is six feet and over of navigable water, for an average of 136 days per year. In the Ohio river a like stage for an average of 155 days per year, and from the mouth of Kanawha down. The Ohio river has a like stage for $248\frac{1}{2}$ days.

It will be seen from this that when the locks and dams are completed, the Kanawha coals can go to the mouth of the river all the year, and down the Ohio $248\frac{1}{2}$ days in the year, instead of 136, as now, while the Pittsburgh coals will still be limited to the 155 days of six feet navigation in the Ohio, above Point Pleasant.

In short, the completion of the work will not only nearly or quite double the time of practical coal shipping from Kanawha, but will, in effect, owing to time saved in getting out, put the great Kanawha coal field about 300 miles nearer the great consuming markets of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

The following table, kindly furnished by Mr. Addison M. Scott, resident engineer, gives the coal shipments of the valley below the Falls of Kanawha, from 1875 to 1877, inclusive, and 1881 to 1889, inclusive:

14—A.

YEAR ENDING	Shipments by River.	Shipments by Railroad.	Total.
June 30, 1875.....	4,048,300	5,798,925	9,841,225
June 30, 1876.....	5,024,050	6,609,650	11,633,700
June 30, 1877.....	5,183,650	7,758,800	12,942,450
June 30, 1881.....	9,628,696	6,631,660	16,260,356
June 1, 1883.....	15,370,458	13,290,255	28,660,713
June 1, 1884.....	18,421,084	12,059,172	30,480,256
June 1, 1885.....	17,812,323	12,972,217	30,784,540
June 1, 1886.....	17,861,613	13,953,745	31,815,358
June 1, 1887.....	23,233,374	19,160,896	42,394,270
June 1, 1888.....	20,100,025	20,962,686	41,063,311
June 1, 1889.....	26,921,788	22,031,121	48,952,909

I learn further from Engineer Scott that the several appropriations made by the government for the dock and dam improvement to date, aggregate \$2,579,500. Of this there is nearly or quite enough on hand to complete locks and dams, Nos. 7 and 8, now under construction, and it is estimated that \$1,100,000 more will construct the three remaining locks and dams Nos. 9, 10 and 11, which will complete the slack water improvement to the mouth of the river, furnishing full 6½ feet of available water for navigation all the year round.

The \$2,579,500 and the \$1,100,000 yet needed will make the cost of the entire work, when completed, \$3,679,500, or \$391,716 less than the original estimate of \$4,071,216. It is quite unusual to construct public works for less than the original engineer's estimates. It is largely due in this case, no doubt, to the ability, prudent management and watchful economy of those who have had the work in charge.

The cost of operating the several locks and dams (including all repairs) was, for the year ending July 30th, 1890, according to Mr. Scott, as follows:


No. 2.....	\$2,357 49
No. 3.....	7,062 50
No. 4.....	2,482 40
No. 5.....	2,225 60
No. 6.....	2,967 13

In 1837 the government established, and are since maintaining, beacon lights on the Kanawha river, as they had previously done on the Ohio. These lights add very greatly to the facility and safety of navigating the river at night.

CHAPTER XV.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

SALT MANUFACTURE IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY—DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRY BY SLOW DEGREES—CRUDE BEGINNINGS—FIRST SALT MADE—PIONEERS IN THE BUSINESS—PETROLEUM OIL—DISCOVERY AND EFFECTS—"OLD GREASY"—NATURAL GAS—FIRST APPEARANCE AND WONDEFUL RESULTS—A HARVARD PROFESSOR'S EXPERIMENT WITH A MATCH AT THE WELL—DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES TO THE INQUISITIVE SCIENTIST—NOT SO PRETTY BUT MUCH WISER—INTERESTING STATISTICS.



FOR about three quarters of a century the manufacture of salt was the leading and dominant industrial interest of the valley. For a long time the newly populating states of the west were almost entirely dependent upon Kanawha for their supply of salt. Later as the country settled up, the markets were extended from the lakes to the gulf, beyond the Ohio, the Tennessee and Cumberland valleys, to the upper Mississippi and Missouri, and as far west as Colorado and New Mexico, the annual product, at its least, reached to between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 bushels, giving profitable employment to a large amount of invested capital, and in all the branches of manufacturing, barreling, shipping and selling, employed a vast number of men. For a long time the only competing salts were the imported Liverpool and the Onondaga. In quality Kanawha salt had no superior; indeed for pork packing, butter curing and domestic uses it was preferred to any other salt.

In the rapid growth and development of the great west, and the consequent evolutionary changes of all industrial and other enterprises the conditions of the salt manufacture and trade, like many others, have been entirely changed. Other salt producing localities have been developed on the Ohio river, in Michigan western New York, Kansas, Louisiana, etc. These have stronger brines and more economical access to the great consuming markets of the west and northwest. In the struggle for supremacy, in competition against such odds, the inexorable law has prevailed: the fittest have survived, and the weaker gone to the wall. The salt industry in Kanawha is now almost extinct. Out of the forty-five furnaces in active operation here in 1840 to 1850, only ten remained in 1875; and now, only one survives to answer to roll call, that of I. Q. Dickinson, Esq.

It may be worth while to sketch a short history of the beginning, development and decadence of this once prosperous and promising interest, which was so important a factor in the early settlement and development of this valley, and the early settlement of the west that depended upon it for that indispensable necessity of human health and comfort—common salt.

The existence of salt springs here has been known to and the brines used by the Indians from a very remote past; certainly long before the country was settled by the whites.

In 1755, when all this region, and from the Alleghenies to the Pacific, was an unbroken wilderness unknown to the white man, a party of Shawnees, who dwelt upon the Scioto, in what is now Ohio, made a raid upon the frontier settlements of Virginia (Draper's Meadows) (in now) Montgomery county. Having taken the settlers unawares, and after killing and capturing prisoners and burning houses, as was their custom, they retreated, with their captives, down New River, Kanawha and Ohio, to their homes. One of these captives, Mrs. Mary Ingles, the great grandmother of the writer, who afterward made her escape, and was returned to her friends, related that the party stopped several days at a salt spring on the Kanawha river, rested from their weary march, killed plenty of game and feasted themselves on the fat of the land; in the meantime, boiling salt water and making a supply of salt, which was carefully packed and taken with them to their western homes. This is not only the first account we have of salt making on the Kanawha, but anywhere else west of the Alleghenies. In fact, if there is any earlier record of salt-making from brine springs, anywhere in the United States, the writer is not aware of it.

The earliest settlement made by the whites in the Kanawha valley, was by Walter Kelley and family, at the mouth of the creek, which bears his name, in the spring of 1773. Kelley and his family paid the forfeit of their lives to their temerity; they were all killed by the Indians; but after the battle of the Point, when there was greater security for life, the valley was rapidly settled, mostly by Virginians, and in great part by the hardy soldiers who had followed Lewis to Point Pleasant.

The early pioneer settlers, in a wilderness, without communication with other settlements, except by foot or bridle paths, depended upon the Kanawha licks for their scanty supply of salt. In those days of simple economy and provident thrift, when everything useful was made the most of, the women's wash-kettles were put under requisition for a fourfold duty; they boiled the daily hog and hominy, and other wholesome, frugal fare; and once a week they boiled the clothes, on wash day; semi-occasionally they boiled the salt water for a little of the precious salt, and every spring they went to the sugar camp, to boil the annual supply of maple sugar and molasses.

It is related that at one time, when there was an apprehended attack from the Indians, the few early settlers were posted at the mouth of Coal river for protection. Being out of salt, and suffering for the want of it, they sent some of their hardy and daring young men in canoes up to the salt spring, where they dipped the canoes full of salt water; and, getting safely back, the water was boiled, and the precious salt made under cover of the fort.

Among the earliest land locations made in the valley, was one of 502 acres, made in 1785, by John Dickinson, from the valley of Virginia, to include the mouth of Campbell's creek, the bottom above, and the salt spring. Dickinson did not improve or work the property himself, but sold to Joseph Ruffner, an enterprising farmer from the Shenandoah valley, Virginia, in 1794. Ruffner purchased the 502 acres upon Dickinson's own report, without himself seeing it, agreeing to pay for it 500 pounds sterling without condition, and other sums conditioned upon the quantity of salt to be made which might increase the price to 10,000 pounds sterling. Having gone thus far he sold out his Shenandoah estates, and in 1795 removed himself and family to Kanawha to look after his salt property. He did not live to execute his pet salt scheme or realize his cherished hopes. Dying in 1803, he willed the property to his sons, David and Joseph, enjoining it upon them to carry out, as speedily as practicable, his plans of building up extensive salt manufactories to supply not only the increasing local demand, but a larger and still more rapidly growing demand which was now coming from the many thrifty settlements throughout the Ohio valley. During the elder Ruffner's life, however, he had leased to one Elisha Brooks the use of salt water and the right to manufacture salt; and in 1797 this Elisha Brooks erected the first salt furnace in Kanawha, or in the western country. It consisted of two dozen small kettles, set in a double row, with a flue beneath, a chimney at one end and a fire bed at the other.

To obtain a supply of salt water he sank two or three "gums," some eight or ten feet each in length, into the mire and quicksand of the salt lick, and dipped the brine with a bucket and swape, as it oozed and seeped in through the sands below. In this crude, rough-and-ready way, Brooks managed to make about 150 pounds of salt per day, which he sold at the kettles at 8 and 10 cents per pound. No means were used to settle or purify the brines or salt, as the salt water came from the gum, so it was boiled down to salt in the kettles, with whatever impurities or coloring matter it contained. As it issues from the earth it holds some carbonate of iron in solution; when it is boiled, this iron becomes oxidized, and gives a reddish tinge to the brine and salt. This Kanawha salt soon acquired a reputation for its strong, pungent

taste, and its superior qualities for curing meat, butter, etc. A great many who used it and recognized these qualities in connection with its striking reddish color, came to associate the two in their minds in the relation of cause and effect, and orders used to come from far and near for some of "that strong red salt from the Kanawha licks."

Almost the only mode of transporting salt beyond the neighborhood, in those early days, was by pack-horses, on the primitive, backwoods pack-saddle. So much of this was done, and so familiar did the public mind become with the term, as used in that sense, that even to this day, among a large class of people, the verb "to pack" is always used instead of other synonymous or similar terms, such as carry, transport, fetch, bring, take, etc., and the "tote" of Old Virginia. It was not until 1806, that the brothers, David and Joseph Ruffner, set to work to ascertain the source of the salt water, to procure, if possible, a larger supply and of better quality, and to prepare to manufacture salt on a scale commensurate with the growing wants of the country.

The Salt lick, or "The Great Buffalo Lick," as it was called, was just at the river's edge, twelve or fourteen rods in extent, on the north side, a few hundred yards above the mouth of Campbell's creek, and just in front of what is now known as the "Thoroughfare Gap," through which, from the north, as well as up and down the river, the buffalo, elk, and other ruminant animals made their way in vast numbers to the lick. It may be mentioned *en passant*, that so great was the fame of this lick, and the herds of game that frequented it, that the great hunter, explorer, and conqueror of the "bloody ground" of Kentucky, Daniel Boone, was tempted up here, made a log cabin settlement, and lived just on the opposite side of the river, on what is now known as the Kanawha city property. But to return to the Lick, and the operations of the Ruffner brothers. In order to reach, if possible the bottom of the mire and oozy quicksand through which the salt water flowed, they provided a straight, well-formed, hollow sycamore tree, with four feet internal diameter, sawed off square at each end. This is technically called "gum." This gum was set upright on the spot selected for sinking, the large end down, and held in its perpendicular position by props or braces, on the four sides. A platform, upon which two men could stand, was fixed about the top; then a swape erected, having its fulcrum in a forked post set in the ground close by. A large bucket, made from half of a whiskey barrel, was attached to the end of the swape, by a rope, and a rope attached to the end of the pole to pull down on, to raise the bucket. With one man inside the gum, armed with pick, shovel, and crowbar, two men on the

platform on top to empty and return the bucket, and three or four to work the swape, the crew and outfit were complete.

After many unexpected difficulties and delays, the gum, at last, reached what seemed to be rock bottom at thirteen feet; upon cutting it with picks and crowbars, however, it proved to be but a shale or crust, about six inches thick, of conglomerated sand, gravel and iron. Upon breaking through this crust the water flowed up into the gum more freely than ever, but less salt. Discouraged at this result, the Ruffner brothers determined to abandon this gum, and sink a well out in the bottom, about 100 yards from the river. This was done, encountering as before, many difficulties and delays; when they had gotten through forty-five feet of alluvial deposit, they came to the same bed of sand and gravel upon which they had started, at the river. To penetrate this, they made a $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch tube of a twenty foot oak log, by boring through it with a long shanked augur. This tube, sharpened, and shod with iron at the bottom, was driven down, pile-driver fashion, through the sand to the solid rock. Through this tube they then let down a glass vial with a string to catch the salt water for testing. They were again doomed to disappointment; the water, though slightly brackish, was less salt than that at the river. They now decided to return to the gum at the river, and, if possible put it down to the bed rock. This they finally succeeded in doing, finding the rock at sixteen to seventeen feet from the surface.

As the bottom of the gum was square, and the surface of the rock uneven, the rush of outside water into the gum was very troublesome. By dint of cutting and trimming from one side and the other, however, they were, at last, gotten nearly to a joint, after which they resorted to thin wedges, which were driven here and there as they would "do the most good." By this means the gum was gotten sufficiently tight to be so bailed out as to determine whether the salt water came up through the rock. This turned out to be the case. The quantity welling up through the rock was extremely small, but the strength was greater than any yet gotten, and this was encouraging. They were anxious to follow it down, but how? They could not blast a hole down there, under water; but this idea occurred to them; they knew that rock blasters drilled their powder holes two or three feet deep, and they concluded they could, with a longer and larger drill, bore a correspondingly deeper and larger hole. They fixed a long iron drill, with a $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch chisel bit of steel, and attached the upper end to a spring pole, with a rope. In this way the boring went on slowly and tediously till on the 1st of November, 1807, at seventeen feet in the rock, a cavity or fissure was struck, which gave an increased flow of stronger brine. This gave new encouragement to bore still further; and so, by

welding increasing length of shaft to the drill, from time to time, the hole was carried down to twenty-eight feet, where a still larger and stronger supply of salt water was gotten.

Having now sufficient salt water to justify it, they decided, and commenced, to build a salt furnace; but while building, continued the boring, and on the 15th of January, 1808, at forty feet in the rock, and fifty-eight feet from the top of the gum, were rewarded by an ample flow of strong brine for their furnace and ceased boring. Now was presented another difficulty: how to get the stronger brine from the bottom of the well, undiluted by the weaker brines and fresh water from above; there was no precedent here; they had to invent, contrive, and construct anew. A metal tube would naturally suggest itself to them; but there were neither metal tubes, nor sheet metal, nor metal workers — save a home-made blacksmith — in all this region, and to bore a wooden tube forty feet long, and small enough in external diameter to go in the two and a half inch hole, was impracticable; what they did do, was to whittle out of two long strips of wood, two long half tubes of the proper size, and, fitting the edges carefully together, wrap the whole from end to end with small twine; this, with a bag of wrapping near the lower end, to fit, as nearly as practicable, water tight, in the two and a half inch hole, was cautiously pressed down to its place, and found to answer the purpose perfectly; the brine flowed up freely through the tube into the gum, which was now provided with a water tight floor or bottom, to hold it; and from which it was raised by the simple swape and bucket.

Thus was bored and tubed, rigged and worked, the first rock-bored salt well west of the Alleghenies, if not in the United States. The wonder is not that it required eighteen months or more to prepare, bore and complete this well for use, but, rather, that it was accomplished at all under the circumstances. In these times, when such a work can be accomplished in as many days as it then required months, it is difficult to appreciate the difficulties, doubts, delays, and general troubles that beset them then. Without preliminary study, previous experience or training, without precedents in what they undertook, in a newly settled country, without steam power, machine shops, skilled mechanics, suitable tools or materials, failure, rather than success, might reasonably have been predicted. The new furnace, which for some time had been under construction, was now complete. It was simply a reproduction of the Elisha Brooks kettle furnace, on a larger scale. There were more kettles, of larger size, and better arranged.

On the 8th of February, 1808, the Ruffner Bros. made their first lifting of salt from this furnace, and simultaneously reduced the price to the, then, unprecedentedly low figure of four cents per

pound.* From this time forward, salt making, as one of the leading industries of Kanawha, was an established fact, and Kanawha salt one of the leading commercial articles of the west; and wherever it has gone, from the Alleghenies to the Rocky mountains, from the Lakes to the Gulf, its superior qualities have been recognized and appreciated. The neighboring property owners, who had watched the progress and result of the Ruffner well with such deep interest, now instituted borings on their own lands, on both sides of the river. Among the early enterprising experimenters, were William Whitaker, Tobias Ruffner, Andrew Donally, and others. All were more or less successful in getting a supply of brine, at depths varying from 50 to 100 feet, and by 1817 there were some thirty furnaces and fifteen or twenty wells in operation, making in the aggregate 600,000 to 700,000 bushels of salt. In this year an important revolution in the manufacture of salt was effected by the discovery of coal. Although, in one of the finest coal fields of the world, coal had not, hitherto, been found here in workable seams nor been used at all, except for blacksmith purposes. Wood had been the only fuel used in salt making, and for other purposes, and all the bottoms and convenient hill slopes for several miles up and down the river had been stripped of their timber to supply this demand.

David Ruffner, true to the spirit of enterprise and pluck which bored the first well, was the first here to use coal as a fuel. This would appear to be a very simple matter now; but was not so then. It was only after many months of discouraging efforts, and failing experiments, that he finally succeeded in getting it to work to his satisfaction. Its value established, however, its use was, at once, adopted by the other furnaces, and wood ceased to be used as a fuel for salt making in Kanawha. Other important improvements were gradually going on in the manner of boring, tubing and pumping wells, &c. The first progress made in tubing, after Ruffner's compound wood-and-wrapping-twine tube, was made by a tinner who had located in Charleston to make tin cups and coffee pots for the multitude. He made tin tubes in convenient lengths, and soldered them together as they were put down the well. The refinement of screw joints had not yet come, but followed shortly after, in connection with copper pipes, which soon took the place of tin, and these are recently giving place to iron. In the manner of bagging the wells, that is, in forming a water-tight joint around the tube to shut off the weaker waters above from the stronger below, a simple arrangement,

*For interesting facts in this history of the boring of the first well, I am indebted to a MS. by the late Dr. Henry Ruffner—and for personal recollections and traditions I am indebted to Gen. Lewis Ruffner, Isaac Ruffner, W. D. Shrewsberry, Col. B. H. Smith, Col. L. I. Woodyard, W. C. Brooks, and others, and my own experiences for the last fifty years.

called a "seed-bag," was fallen upon, which proved very effective, which has survived to this day, and has been adopted wherever deep boring is done, as one of the standard appliances for the purpose for which it is used. This seed-bag is made of buckskin, or soft calf-skin sewed up like the sleeve of a coat or leg of a stocking; made twelve to fifteen inches long, about the size of the well hole and open at both ends; this is slipped over the tube and one end securely wrapped over knots placed on the tube to prevent slipping. Some six or eight inches of the bag is then filled with flaxseed, either alone or mixed with powdered gum tragacanth; the other end of the bag is then wrapped, like the first, and the tube is ready for the well. When to their place—and they are put down any depth, to hundreds of feet—the seed and gum soon swell from the water they absorb, till a close fit and water-tight joint are made.

The hydraulic contrivance for raising salt water from the gums, consisting of a bucket, a swape and a man, was simple, slow and sure; but the spirit of progress was abroad and it soon gave place to a more complicated arrangement, consisting of a pump, lever, crank, shaft, and blind horse or mule, that revolved in its orbit around the shaft. This was considered a wonderful achievement in mechanical contrivance, especially by the men who had worked the swapes. For several years this "horse-mill," as it was called, was the only mode of pumping salt water on Kanawha, but in the fullness of time it also went to the rear in 1828 and the steam engine came to the front, not only for pumping, but also for boring wells and various other uses. About 1840 William Morris, or "Billy" Morris, as he was familiarly called, a very ingenious and successful practical well borer, invented a simple tool, which has done more to render deep boring practicable, simple and cheap, than anything else since the introduction of steam. This tool has always been called here "Slips," but in the oil regions they have given it the name of "Jars." It is a long double-link, with jaws that fit closely, but slide loosely up and down. They are made of the best steel, are about thirty inches long, and fitted, top and bottom, with pin and socket joint, respectively. For use they are interposed between the heavy iron sinker, with its cutting chisel-bit below, and the line of augur poles or rope above. Its object is to let the heavy sinker and bit have a clear, quick, cutting fall, unobstructed and unencumbered by the slower motion of the long line of augur poles or rope above. In the case of fast augur or other tools in the well, they are also used to give heavy jars upward or downward, or both, to loosen them. From this use the oil well people have given them the name of "Jars."

Billy Morris never patented his invention and never asked for nor made a dollar out of it, but as a public benefactor, he deserves

to rank with the inventors of the sewing machine, reaping machine, planing machine, printing cylinders, cotton gin, etc. This tool has been adopted into general use wherever deep boring is done, but, out-side of Kanawha, few have heard of Billy Morris, or know where the slips or jars came from. The invention of this tool, the adoption of the heavy sinker and some other minor improvements in well boring, gave a great impetus to deep boring in Kanawha. Wells were put down 500, 1,000, 1,200 and 1,500 feet and one, the deepest in Kanawha, by Charles Reynolds, to about 1,700 feet. These borings would doubtless have been carried to a much greater depth, but that the fact soon got to be understood, that the salt bearing strata had been passed, and that no brines were obtained at a greater depth than 800 to 1,000 feet. The limit of the salt-bearing rocks is readily told by the character of the borings. Within this limit are sandstones, shale, coal, etc., of the coal measures lying nearly horizontal, though dipping slightly to the northwest; below is the carboniferous limestone which underlies the coal measures, and crops out 100 miles to the eastward. This limestone when penetrated is known to the well-borers as the "long running rock," from the fact that a boring-bit will run a long time in it without being dulled.

No regular suites of samples of borings from the Kanawha wells have ever been kept. This is not important, however, as the strata are well known, and can be examined along the New river canon as they crop out to the eastward. The Kanawha borings have educated and sent forth a set of skillful well-borers, all over the country, who have bored for water for irrigation on the western plains, for artesian wells for city, factory or private use, for salt water at various places, for oil and gas all over the country, for geological or mineralogical explorations, etc.

Nearly all the Kanawha salt wells have contained more or less petroleum oil, and some of the deepest wells a considerable flow. Many persons now think, trusting to their recollections, that some of the wells afforded as much as 25 to 50 barrels per day, undoubtedly very largely exaggerated. This was allowed to flow over from the top of the salt cisterns, on to the river, where, from its specific gravity, it spread over a large surface, and by its beautiful iridescent hues, and not very savory odor, could be traced for many miles down the stream. It was from this that the river received the familiar nickname of "Old Greasy," by which it was for a long time familiarly known by Kanawha boatmen and others.

At that time this oil not only had no value, but was considered a great nuisance, and every effort was made to tube it out and get rid of it. It is now the opinion of some competent geologists, as well as of practical oil men, that very deep borings, say 2,500 feet, would penetrate rich oil-bearing strata, and possibly

inexhaustible supplies of gas. This theory is being put to the test by borings now going on.

In 1841, William Tompkins, in boring a salt well a short distance above the burning spring, struck a large flow of gas, which he turned to account by "boiling his furnace" and making salt with it, effecting a great saving in fuel and economy in the cost of salt. In 1843, Messrs. Dickinson and Shrewsberry, boring a few rods below, tapped, at about 1,000 feet in depth, nature's great gas reservoir of this region. So great was the pressure of this gas, and the force with which it was vented through this bore-hole, that the augur, consisting of a heavy iron sinker, weighing some 500 pounds, and several hundred feet more of augur poles, weighing in all perhaps 1,000 pounds, was shot up out of the well like an arrow out of a cross-bow. With it came a column of salt water, which stood probably 150 feet high. The roaring of this gas and water, as they issued, could be heard under favorable conditions for several miles.

It would have been difficult to estimate with any approach to accuracy, the quantity of gas vented by this well, and no attempt was made to measure it, as no suitable means of measuring then existed. It was roughly estimated by some as being enough to light London and Paris, with, perhaps enough left to supply a few such villages as New York and Philadelphia. But as this is a salt well, as well as gas well, the gas estimates had better be taken "*cum grano salis*."

As part of the history of this well an incident semi-humorous and semi-tragical may be related. While the well was blowing it was the custom of the stage drivers, as they passed down by it, to stop and let their passengers take a look at the novel and wonderful display. On one occasion a professor from Harvard college was one of the stage passengers, and being a man of investigating and experimenting turn of mind, he went as near the well as he could get for the gas and spray of the falling water, and lighted a match to see if the gas would burn. Instantly the whole atmosphere was ablaze, the professor's hair and eyebrows singed, and his clothes afire. The well-frame and engine-house also took fire, and were much damaged. The professor, who had jumped into the river to save himself from the fire, crawled out, and back to the stage, as best he could, and went on to Charleston, where he took to bed, and sent for a doctor to dress his burns.

Col. Dickinson, one of the owners of the well, hearing of the burning of his engine-house and well-frame, sent for his man of affairs, Col. Woodyard, and ordered him to follow the unknown stage passenger to town, get a warrant, have him arrested and punished, for wilfully and wantonly burning his property,—unless, concluded Col. Dickinson, as Woodyard was about starting, unless you find that the fellow is a natural d—d fool, and didn't know

any better. Arriving at Charleston, Woodyard went to the room of the burnt professor at the hotel, finding him in bed, his face and hands blistered, and in a sorry plight generally. He proceeded to state in very plain terms, the object of his visit, at which the professor seemed greatly worried, and alarmed, not knowing the extent of this additional impending trouble, which his folly had brought upon him. Before he had expressed himself in words, however, Woodyard proceeded to deliver, verbatim, and with greath emphasis the codicil to Dickinson's instructions. The professor notwithstanding his physical pain and mental alarm, seemed to take in the ludicrousness of the whole case, and with an effort to smile through his blisters, replied that it seemed a pretty hard alternative; but under the circumstances, he felt it his duty to confess under the last clause, and escape. "Well," said Woodyard, "if this is your decision, my duty is ended, and I bid you good morning."

The salt water and gas from this well were partially collected, and conveyed through wooden pipes, to the nearest furnace, where they were used in making salt. For many years this natural flow of gas lifted the salt water 1,000 feet from the bottom of the well, forced it a mile or more through pipes, to a salt furnace, raised it into a reservoir, boiled it in the furnace, and lighted the premises all around at night. About the only objection to the arrangement was, that it did not lift the salt and pack it in barrels. The success of this well induced other salt makers to bore deep wells for gas, and several were successful. Messrs. Worth & English, Tompkins, Welch & Co., Wm. D. Shrewsberry, J. H. Fry, and J. S. O. Brooks, got gas wells and used the gas either alone, or in connection with coal, for fuel in salt making. Gas was also struck in a few other wells, but did not last long, and was not utilized.

Of the many wells in the neighborhood, that have furnished gas, some have stopped suddenly, and some by a slow and gradual process. Whether these stoppages have been from exhaustion of the gas, or sudden, or gradual stoppage of the ventways, has not been definitely determined. It is known, however, that in the Dickinson and Shrewsberry well, which blew longer than any other, that the copper pipes in the well, and the wooden pipes leading to the furnace, were lined with a mineral deposit, in some places nearly closing them. This deposit has not been analyzed, but may possibly be silicate of lime. A sytem of torpedoing might break up these incrustations from the walls of the well and rock cavities, and start the gas again.

After the introduction of steam power, and the use of coal for fuel, no striking change was effected in the process of salt manufacture for a number of years. What improvements were made, were simply in degree. Wells were bored deeper, the

holes were bored larger, the tubing was better, the pumps and rigging simpler. The furnaces were larger, better constructed, and more effectively operated, the quality of the salt improved and the quantity increased, but still they were kettle furnaces of the original type. The mammoth furnace of the kettle era was that of Joseph Friend & Son at the mouth of Campbell's creek, on which they made 100,000 bushels of salt per annum. The usual capacity of other furnaces was 25,000 to 50,000 bushels per annum. This was about the condition of the salt manufacture here in 1835, when there were, all told, about forty furnaces, producing annually about 2,000,000 bushels of salt. During this year George H. Patrick, Esq. of Onondaga, New York, came here, to introduce a patent steam furnace. The furnace proper, after it was developed and improved, consisted of cast iron pans or bottoms, eight to ten feet by three feet. Eight or ten of these pieces were bolted together by iron screws, forming one section twenty-four to thirty feet long, by eight or ten feet wide. There were two, three, or four of these sections according to the size of the furnace. Over each of the sections was constructed a wooden steam chest, bolted to the flanges on the sides of the pans, and otherwise held together by wooden clamps and keys, and iron bolts and rods, all made steam and water tight by calking. These several sections are set longitudinally on the furnace walls to form one continuous furnace.

After the furnace comes a series of wooden vats or cisterns, a usual size for which, is about ten feet wide and 100 feet long. The number of these cisterns varies according to the size of the furnace. They are constructed of poplar plank, four to five inches thick, dressed to joints, and fitted in a frame of oak by sills and clamps. They are tightened by driving wooden keys, and then calked to make them water tight. This system of clamping and keying cisterns, was introduced here from a model brought by Col. B. H. Smith from the navy yard at Norfolk. It was very simple and effective, and has been retained to this day, without improvement or change. There are two sets of these cisterns, the first in which the brines, after boiling in the furnace proper, are settled, and at the same time strengthened up to saturation. The latter in which the salt is graduated from the clear saturated brines. These settling and graining cisterns are very much alike, except that the grainers are usually but fifteen to eighteen inches deep while the settlers may be double that or more. Through each and all of these cisterns from end to end are three rows of copper pipes, usually five inches in diameter. After the salt water is boiled in the furnace proper, it runs into these settling cisterns, and after being thoroughly settled and saturated, is drawn into the grainers, where the salt is deposited,

and, once in twenty-four hours is lifted out by long handled shovels, on to a salt board, suspended above the grainer, and from which, after proper draining, it is wheeled in wheelbarrows to a salt house, where it is packed in barrels ready for shipment.

The steam generated by the boiling in the furnace proper, is carried from the steam chest by wooden pipes, to the copper pipes and through the settlers and grainers. This steam giving up its heat in passing through these cisterns, keeps up the temperature of the brines, and causes rapid evaporation. The temperature of these cisterns varies from 120 to 190 degrees, an average would probably be 165 degrees. This, in short, is a description of the steam furnace after it was improved, and the first mistakes and crudities were eliminated. In the first experiments only very slight heat was imparted by the steam to the brines, and only very coarse or alum salt made. It was very simple, accomplished all that was expected, and so soon as it was fairly tested, improved up to its working condition, and its advantages demonstrated; the days of kettle furnaces were numbered. Andrew Donnally and Isaac Noyes were the first to try and adopt, the plan. Then followed John D. Lewis, Lewis Ruffner, Frederick Brooks, and others, till all had made the change; and when the Ohio river furnaces were built, the system was fully adopted there. It is now about fifty-five years since George Patrick introduced the steam furnace, but it still holds its position securely. Minor improvements were made, and the furnaces much enlarged, but the general plan has not been changed. From the 2,000, or 3,000, or 4,000 bushels per month of the earlier furnaces, the production was increased to 20,000, 30,000, or 40,000 bushels per month. Snow Hill (the furnace of J. P. Hale) made, in one year, independent of all stoppages, delays, etc., 420,000 bushels, the largest single month's run being 41,000 bushels. This furnace had 20,000 square feet of evaporating cistern surface, and over 1,300 square feet of metal-pan furnace-surface. About 1,200 bushels of coal per day were consumed in the furnace proper, and about 300 more for engines, houses and other purposes. The same progress has occurred in freighting salt, as in the manufacture. In the days of Elisha Brooks, the neighbors took the salt from the kettles in their pocket handkerchiefs, tin buckets, or pillow cases. Later it was taken in meal bags, on pack-horses and pack-saddles.

The first shipment west, by river, was in 1808, in tubs, boxes, and hogsheads, floated on a raft of logs. Next came small flat-boats, 50 to 75 feet long, and 10 to 18 feet wide, "run" by hand, and in which salt was shipped in barrels. These boats increased in size up to 160 feet or more long, and 24 to 25 feet wide, and carried 1,800 to 2,200 barrels of salt. These boats were all run by hand, at great risk, and although the Kanawha boatmen were

the best in the world, the boats and cargoes were not unfrequently sunk, entailing heavy loss upon the owners of the salt. The late Col. Andrew Donnally used to ask, when he heard of one of his boats sinking, whether any of the boatmen were drowned; if not, he contended it was not a *fair sink*. But all this was changed. Salt was later shipped eastward by rail, and to the nearer westward markets by daily and weekly steamboat packets, and to the more distant markets by towboats and barges. A towboat will take 8,000 to 15,000 barrels at one trip, landing them at Louisville, Evansville, Nashville, Memphis, St. Louis or elsewhere. In the matter of packages, no change has occurred here since the first use of barrels, the principal change being a gradual improvement in the quality of the cooperage. Our neighbors in Mason county, ship some salt in bulk, and some in bags, but the larger portion in barrels. Kanawha uses barrels exclusively. Two sizes were used — 280 pounds and 350 pounds net salt, respectively. The pork packing trade took the larger size, and the retail trade the smaller, chiefly. These barrels were made of white oak staves and hickory hoops, and it is believed that nothing cheaper or better can be devised for salt packages. They are cheaper than bags, more convenient to handle, more convenient to store, stand rougher usage and more exposure to the weather. Markets having choice of salt in bags or barrels, generally prefer the barrels.

In the earlier times of salt making here, various substances were experimented with for the purpose of settling or separating the impurities from the brine. Blood, glue, jelly, lime, alum, etc., were used. Something of the sort was necessary when the brine was boiled down in kettles with all its impurities, but they are all useless, and worse than useless in the present process, and have long been abandoned. Plenty of settling-room and plenty of time, are all that are needed to have the brines as clear as spring water. The bitterns, after the salt is granulated, are thrown away, or used for manufacturing bromine. It has long been known that a small portion of some greasy or oily substance, on the surface of the brine helped "to cut the grain," and hasten the granulation. Butter, tallow, lard, rosin, oils, etc., have been tried. Of these, butter is far the best, and next to butter, tallow; lard and some of the others are positively detrimental. Heat, too, is an important condition in making fine salt. The higher the temperature, other things being equal, the finer the salt. In making the finer grades of table and dairy salt, it is necessary to have the brine up to, or near, the boiling point. On the other hand, the coarser grades of salt, preferred for meat packing and other purposes, are made at temperatures of from 100° to 150° F.

A still coarser grained, or larger crystallized salt, known as alum salt or solar salt, and made in the open air by solar evaporation,

is not made here, but there is no reason why it should not be to great advantage, as we have longer summers and warmer suns, than at Onondaga, New York, where it is very largely made, and with more profit than other grades of salt.

The best furnace will make 100 bushels of salt with 80 to 90 bushels of coal. A good average result is a bushel of salt for a bushel of coal, and the least economical consume about 125 bushels of coal per 100 bushels of salt.

The cost of boring a salt well here, say 1,000 feet, after engine, well frame, etc., are ready, is \$1,200 to \$1,500. The time necessary to bore and ream it complete, is 60 to 90 days. The cost of a salt furnace, complete, depends upon the size, etc., and varies within wide limits. It may be stated roughly at \$40,000 to \$100,000. The people of the United States consume more salt than those of any other country, the estimated average consumption being one bushel of 50 pounds, per capita, for the entire population.

It is well known to chemists that salt is a valuable fertilizer on most soils for wheat, cotton, grass, potatoes, turnips and other crops; and as an ingredient in compound manures it has a wide range of value. It is often recommended by the highest authorities, but, as yet, very little is so used in this country. When agriculture gets to be better understood and practiced, and agricultural people understand their interests better, a large demand and consumption will doubtless be developed in that direction.

Pure salt, or chloride of sodium, is the same under all circumstances, but no commercial salt is entirely pure. Sea water, brine springs, rock salt, and all sources of commercial supply contain, associated with common salt, other saline ingredients. These are chiefly sulphates and chlorides, in greater or less quantity, and varying proportions. Probably the most common, as well as the most deleterious of these compounds is sulphate of lime. Kanawha salt has the advantage of being absolutely free from lime and other sulphates, our process of manufacture, perhaps better, than any other, enables us to separate the hurtful compounds and purify the brines.

The salt when carefully made analyzes 98.00 to 99.00 per cent of pure chloride of sodium, the remaining fraction being made up of chlorides of magnesium, and calcium. These absorb a little moisture from the atmosphere, relieve the salt from a chaffy dryness, and impart to it that valuable property of penetrating and curing meat in any climate or whether, for which it has so long enjoyed a high reputation. In fact the distinctive characteristics of Kanawha salt may be stated as follows: 1st. It has a more lively, pungent and pleasant taste as a table salt than any other known. 2nd. It is the only commercial salt that is absolutely free from sulphate of lime. 3rd. It does not

under any conditions of climate and weather, cake or crust on the surface of the meat, but penetrates it and cures it thoroughly to the bone. 4th. On account of it pungency and penetrating qualities a less quantity of it will suffice for any of the purposes for which it is used—whether table, dairy, grazing or packing.


STATEMENT SHOWING THE PRODUCTION OF SALT IN KANAWHA.

Date.	Bushels.	Date.	Bushels.
1797.....	150 pounds per day.	1858.....	} No records.
1808.....	25 bushels per day.	1859.....	
1814.....	600,000 bushels per year.	1860.....	
1827.....	787,000 bushels per year.	1861.....	
1828.....	863,542 bushels per year.	1862.....	
1829.....	989,758 bushels per year.	1863.....	} 1,300,991 bushels per year.
1830.....	906,132 bushels per year.	1864.....	
1831.....	956,814 bushels per year.	1865.....	
1832.....	1,029,207 bushels per year.	1866.....	
1833.....	1,288,873 bushels per year.	1867.....	
1834.....	1,702,956 bushels per year.	1868.....	} 861,973 bushels per year.
1835.....	1,960,583 bushels per year.	1869.....	
1836.....	1,762,410 bushels per year.	1870.....	
1837.....	1,880,415 bushels per year.	1871.....	
1838.....	1,811,076 bushels per year.	1872.....	
1839.....	1,593,217 bushels per year.	1873.....	} No records.
1840.....	1,419,205 bushels per year.	1874.....	
1841.....	1,443,645 bushels per year.	1875.....	
1842.....	1,919,389 bushels per year.	1876.....	
1843.....	2,197,887 bushels per year.	1877.....	
1844.....	1,874,919 bushels per year.	1878.....	} 967,465 bushels per year.
1845.....	2,578,499 bushels per year.	1879.....	
1846.....	3,224,786 bushels per year.	1880.....	
1847.....	2,690,087 bushels per year.	1881.....	
1848.....	2,876,010 bushels per year.	1882.....	
1849.....	2,951,492 bushels per year.	1883.....	} No records.
1850.....	3,142,100 bushels per year.	1884.....	
1851.....	2,862,676 bushels per year.	1885.....	
1852.....	2,741,570 bushels per year.	1886.....	
1853.....	2,729,910 bushels per year.	1887.....	
1854.....	2,233,863 bushels per year.	1888.....	} Estimated 150,000 bushels.
1855.....	1,493,548 bushels per year.	1889.....	
1856.....	1,264,049 bushels per year.	1890.....	
1857.....	1,266,749 bushels per year.		

CHAPTER XVI.

BY VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

CHURCH HISTORY OF THE KANAWHA VALLEY—FIRST LAW PASSED IN THE NEW WORLD COMMANDS RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE—"BLUE LAWS" BY THE FANATICS OF OLD VIRGINIA—HOW IT WAS BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS—PIONEER PREACHERS—SELF-SACRIFICE AND ZEAL—FIRST BAPTIST MINISTER ON THE KANAWHA—PRIMITIVE MEETIN' HOUSES—WIDELY SCATTERED CONGREGATIONS—THE BAPTIST CHURCH AND ITS HEROES—THE PRESBYTERIANS—HISTORIC SPLIT IN THAT DENOMINATION—METHODIST EPISCOPAL—EARLY MISSIONARY WORK—PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL—UNITED BRETHREN—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, ITS WORK IN THE VALLEY—THE LUTHERANS.



THE men who first found homes at Jamestown were adherents of the Church of England, and devoted Christians, and the oldest law now extant, enacted by the Virginia house of burgesses—the first representative body in the New World—had reference to the worship of the living God and the burial of the dead. It bears date 1623, 21st year of James I., and is as follows:

"That there shall be in every plantation, where the people use to meete for the worship of God, a house or roome sequestered for that purpose, and not to be for any temporal use whatsoever, and a place empaled in, sequestered only to the buryal of the dead." At the same time it was enacted: "That whosoever shall absent himselfe from divine service on Sunday without an allowable excuse shall forfeit a pound of tobacco, and he that absenteth himselfe a monthe shall forfeit 50 lb of tobacco."

The antiquarian who peruses the earliest laws of the ancient commonwealth is surprised to find that almost or quite half of them were designed to operate in the interest of the church, and the famous Blue Laws of Connecticut were scarcely more severe than were those enacted more than 250 years ago by the adherents of the Church of England, on the banks of the James. The church-warden's oath, prescribed in 1631, is characteristic of the legislation of that day. It was as follows:

"You shall sware that you shall make presentments of all such persons as shall lead a prophane or ungodlie life, of such as shall be common swearers, drunkards or blasphemers, that shall

ordinarlie profane the saboth dayes or contemne God's holy word or sacraments. You shall also present all adulterers or fornicators, or such as shall abuse theire neighbors by slanderinge, tale caryinge, or back bitinge, or that shall not behave themselves orderlie and soberlie in the church duringe devyne servise."

The church history of the tide water region of the Old Dominion is of the greatest interest, but cannot be more so than that on the West side of the Alleghenies, to which we must now turn our attention.

The records of western civilization present to the student nothing of greater interest than the efforts of pioneer ministers of the gospel, to keep the teachings of Christianity abreast of the most daring frontiersmen. Scarcely was the roof on the rude cabin before some one of these self-sacrificing, zealous heralds of the cross found his way to it. With Bible in hand and clad in the roughest garb, they went from one cabin to another proclaiming the glad tidings of "Peace on earth and good will to men," and by them the first congregations were organized. No lofty spire or sounding bell guided these worshipers to the place of devotion, for it was within the walls of the log cabin or beneath the spreading boughs in the dark shade of the forest primeval, for here, as in earlier ages, "The groves were God's first temples." Devoted men were they, and they carved out a society and established a code of morals as rigid as any known in older lands. The records of their first courts contain many entries relative to indictments for Sabbath-breaking and profanity. What is true of the western border, is true of the great Kanawha valley, in the occupation and settlement of which were blended all the elements of that civilization which had been previously transplanted in the valley of Virginia. To that fertile region had come the Scotch-Irish, renowned for their devotion to the principles of Christianity, and here they were met by the devoted Huguenot, the pious Cavalier of Virginia, the strict Catholic of Maryland, the steady Quaker of Pennsylvania, the Baptists and Presbyterians of New Jersey, the sternly religious Puritans from New England, and the Lutherans and Moravians from the banks of the Rhine. From such an ancestry have descended a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Great Kanawha valley, the religious history of which is here briefly told. Its record properly begins in the Greenbrier valley, and from thence we trace it westward through the counties of Fayette, Kanawha, Putnam and Mason, even to the banks of the Ohio.

The first Baptist minister on the western waters of the Kanawha was Rev. John Alderson, in memory of whom the town of Alderson, in the county of Monroe, was named. He was pastor

of the Lynnville Baptist church, in Rockingham county, in the valley of Virginia, but no sooner did the settlements on the west side of the Alleghenies assume the appearance of permanency, than he carried the glad tidings to them. Between the years 1775 and 1777, Mr. Alderson made no less than three visits to the Greenbrier valley, then a wild uncultivated and almost uninhabited country, and while on these visits baptized three persons, two of whom were John Griffith and Mrs. Keeney. These were the first persons ever baptized in the western waters of Virginia.

Mr. Alderson now resolved to remove to the west, and accordingly early in the year 1777—the darkest of the Revolutionary war—set out with his family. On reaching Jackson's river, he learned that a few days before the Indians had attacked the house of Col. James Graham, on Greenbrier river, and had killed one member of his family and carried another into captivity. In consequence of this information he halted for some months, but reached his destination in October. His first location was in Jarrett's Fort, on Wolf creek, now in Monroe, but after a short time he settled on the east bank of Greenbrier river, where Alderson now stands, and cleared a farm on which he afterward followed the plow with his gun swung to his shoulder. In going from fort to fort to fulfill his engagements, he was often guarded by a body of armed men. In two years he succeeded in organizing a church of twelve members, himself and wife included. They considered themselves as a branch of the Lynnville church, but transacted business as a separate body. On the 24th of October, 1779, they were regularly constituted a working body known as the "Greenbrier Baptist Church," and the following year it was admitted into the Ketocton association of Loudoun county, Va.

At this time the members were very much scattered, some living twenty miles from the location of the church, and because of this, the regular church meetings were held in different localities. Occasionally such meetings were held at Second Creek Gap, on the Big Levels, near where Lewisburg now stands, and on New river. Notwithstanding the members were dispersed over such a wide area, measures were taken as early as 1783, to erect a house of worship, and in May of that year, the site on which the Greenbrier church has since stood, was fixed upon as a suitable location. In July, the following year, the building was so nearly completed that it was used for public worship. This is believed to have been the first church building erected on the western waters of the Kanawha. Accessions continued to be made, and in 1785, some of the members resided at Second Creek Gap, some on New river, some on Indian creek, others on the Big Levels, and one named Burr, on Spring creek, thirty miles distant from the church building, and yet the rec-

ords states, "that these members were in the habit of attending the regular church meetings." Mr. Alderson continued his labors here seven years before he met with a single Baptist preacher, but in 1785, Rev. James Johnston came over the mountains and was induced to settle on the Kanawha.

Nineteen and one-half miles above Charleston, on the south side of the river, and one and one-half miles below the mouth of Paint creek, is a small stream known as Meeting House branch, and it was here that Rev. Johnston halted, and in 1793 organized the Kanawha Baptist church, the first in the valley west of Kanawha Falls. Here the first church was erected, by John Hansford, but the building was burned by the Federal soldiers, and the congregation now worship in a building erected by Felix G. Hansford, son of John, at Clifton, three miles farther up the river. Among the members composing this primitive body of Christians were: Leonard Morris (the first permanent settler of the valley), Levi Morris, Benjamin Morris, William Morris and wife, Katie Carroll, William Morris, Jr., John Jones, John Hansford, Jane Hansford, David Janett, William Huddleston, Edward Hughes, Lewis Jones, Mary Malone, Susanna Malone, Levi Alderson, Thomas Trigg, Polly Ellison, Polly Winsor, Nancy Harriman, Richard Hughes, Matilda Winsor and John Meadows. The Teays Valley association met with this church in 1819, when Rev. John Young preached the annual sermon from Psalms 38: 12, 13. Rev. Johnston served the church as pastor until 1803, when he removed to Kentucky. Some of his successors in the pastorate have been, Rev. John Lee, from 1815 to 1825; W. A. Wood, from 1825 to 1832; William C. Ligon, from 1832 to 1843; M. M. Rock, from 1843 to 1848. Among others who preached for the church were, John Young, John Morris, Thomas Harmon, James Michael, Hezekiah Chilton, Lewis A. Alderson, Mathew Ellison, Felix Ellison and James E. Ellison.

From 1793 to 1807, a period of fourteen years, all the Baptist churches of the New River, Kanawha region, belonged to the New River association, but in the last named year, the Greenbrier association was organized, and comprised all the churches down the Kanawha toward the Ohio.

In the year 1800—three years before Rev. Johnston removed to Kentucky—Rev. John Lee came west of the mountains and halted in Teays Valley, now in Putnam county. He was born and reared in southwest Virginia, and when he entered the ministry he was very illiterate, but by constant application he not only learned to read but became well acquainted with the Scriptures. He was remarkably successful in the ministry, and in him was verified the Scriptural declaration that, "God hath chosen the weak to confound the mighty." By the year 1806 he had organized the Teays Valley church, which, the next year, was ad-

mitted into the Greenbrier association, with a membership of fifty-two. Mr. Lee extended his field of labor and continued to gather in the sheaves, and at the meeting of the association in the year 1808, the Mud River church, organized entirely by his own labor, was admitted into that body with twenty-two members. When we remember the sparsely settled condition of the country at that time we are struck with surprise at the success which crowned the labors of this lowly man. He remained with these churches until 1825, when he removed beyond the Ohio, where he continued his labors until he fell by the hand of death.

In the years that followed the churches of this denomination multiplied rapidly and spread throughout the valley. The Cole River church was organized in 1803; Upper Falls church (on Cole river), 1817; Green Bottom church, now in Mason county, in 1820, from which time they have increased to perhaps seventy organizations in the valley.

In 1834, the church throughout the United States divided on the question of mission work, and from that time to the present the student of its history meets with missionary and anti-mission Baptists. The disaffection extended to the Kanawha valley, and in 1834 the Teays Valley association was rent asunder. Rev. William C. Ligon, then pastor of the old Kanawha church, led the missionary movement, and in the same year the anti-mission members of the lower part of the valley met and organized the Pocatalico association, their champion being the Rev. William Martin. They are now styled by church historians, Primitive Baptists. The Pocatalico association has within its jurisdiction several churches, among which are Liberty and Hope-well, in Kanawha county; Zoar, in Putnam; Enon, in Mason, and Eliun and Little Flock, in Jackson.

Presbyterian Church.—The oldest church organization of this denomination on the western waters of Virginia, is the Lewisburg church, organized by the Rev. John McCue, in 1783. He continued to be the pastor for about six years when he returned to the east, and was succeeded by Rev. Benjamin Grigsby, who remained until the coming of Dr. John McElheny, in 1808. This remarkable man was born in North Carolina, in March, 1791, and early in life entered Washington college, Virginia. On leaving that institution, he was licensed as a minister by the Lexington Presbytery, and in 1808, was sent to perform mission work in the counties of Greenbrier and Monroe. Now began that long and laborious career which he followed with such cheerfulness and devotion, and which terminated only with life itself. For a period of sixty-three years, 1808 to 1871, he was pastor of this church, and it is safe to say that no one has lived within the state who has wielded a greater influence for good than he.

Soon after the organization of the church, a log building

was erected, and in this it continued to worship until 1795, when the present "Old Stone Church" was erected. It was built of irregular blocks of blue lime-stone, and is of Gothic architecture. It is the oldest church edifice on the waters of the Great Kanawha.

The first Presbyterian minister who visited that part of the valley below the Falls, was Rev. William Graham, whose name is inseparably connected with the educational and religious history of the valley of Virginia. He was for twenty-one years at the head of Liberty Hall academy, the first Virginia institution of learning west of the Blue Ridge.

In 1798, imbued with the missionary spirit, he resolved to plant the banner of Christianity on the banks of the Ohio, and with this object in view he purchased the "Poulson Grant," of 6,000 acres, which had been surveyed by Washington, in 1770, and which was situated on the Ohio river in what is now known as Graham district, in Mason county.

To reach these lands, Mr. Graham journeyed down the Great Kanawha, having with him several families as colonists. The destination was reached; a fort was erected, and here Mr. Graham hoped to organize a church, and in time there would spring up around him a community of like faith with himself, and, in which should be reared a patriotic, virtuous, healthy, classic, obedient and religious posterity. But, alas, for human hope! The next year he returned to Richmond on business and while there sickened and died of a fever, January 8, 1799. His colonists, when they heard of the death of their leader—both spiritual and temporal—became discouraged, abandoned their settlement and returned to the land whence they came. Thus failed the efforts of a great and good man, who left nothing behind him on the banks of the Ohio, save his name which is commemorated in that of "Graham Station," which the place of his settlement still bears.

Thenceforward there appears no record of the work of this denomination in the valley until the year 1815, when the Rev. William Gould, of Gallipolis, Ohio, began to preach at Point Pleasant and other points on the Kanawha. Almost contemporary with him, Rev. Henry Ruffner began preaching in the upper part of the valley, and it was due to his labors that the First Presbyterian church of Charleston was organized. The following account of its institution is taken from the records:

"Charleston, Kanawha county, March 14, 1819. On this day the Rev. Henry Ruffner attended at the academy according to appointment for the purpose of constituting a church to be in connection with and under the care of the Lexington Presbytery and Synod of Virginia. Upon invitation given a number of persons presented themselves as candidates for membership, and an

election being held for two persons to serve as ruling elders, Samuel Beaumont and Thomas Law, who had previously been members of the church, were chosen and thereupon ordained to the office of ruling elder in this congregation. The aforesaid elders, with the officiating minister, having convened in session, several persons were upon examination, received into the church."

The church thus organized gradually increased, and provided itself with a comfortable house of worship. It has always been one of the most influential churches in this part of the state.

In 1838, when the synod of Virginia formed the presbytery of Greenbrier from the western portion of the territory of Lexington presbytery, the church of Charleston came under the jurisdiction of the new presbytery, and through this presbytery it still is under the synod of Virginia according to the terms of its original organization.

The Rev. Henry Ruffner, who had been the pioneer of Presbyterianism in and around Charleston, was elected in 1820, to a professorship in Washington college, Virginia, and removed from the field. He was succeeded the same year by the Rev. Calvin Chadock, a Congressional minister, who supplied the church until his removal by death on the 25th of April, 1825. The congregation remained without any supply until January, 1826, when the church, consisting of about twenty members, engaged the ministerial services of Rev. Nathaniel Calhoun. He continued to labor successfully until January 4, 1835, when owing to difficulties between himself and a portion of the congregation, he resigned, leaving the church with nine elders, three deacons and 121 members.

In the month of August of the same year, the Rev. Andrew S. Morrison was engaged to serve the church for one year. In April, 1837, the Rev. James M. Brown, D. D., was called to the pastorate of the church and was duly installed in the month of September, the same year. He was a wise and godly man, and continued to labor with great acceptance and usefulness until his lamented death on the 8th of June, 1862.

After the death of Dr. Brown, Rev. J. McC. Bluney was engaged as stated supply of the church and continued until September, 1867, when he accepted a call to the Presbyterian church of Frankford, Ky. From November, of the same year, until September, 1869, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. J. C. Downing. Upon the withdrawal of Mr. Downing, Rev. J. C. Barr, who was principal of the Charleston institute, and his assistant, Rev. N. G. Geddes, were engaged to supply the pulpit jointly. Mr. Geddes, finding his duties too onerous, retired, leaving Mr. Barr permanent supply of the church, in which relation he still continues.

Owing to the division of the Presbyterian church, into the

northern and southern general assemblies, there was a divided state of feeling and opinion in this church. But, in 1865, the congregation agreed to occupy a neutral position, and for some years it sent no representative to either presbytery. This, however, proved unsatisfactory, and at a meeting held February 21st, 1872, two rolls were prepared, and after a kind and fraternal discussion, 150 members enrolled themselves with the church, resuming its former relations with the Greenbrier presbytery, and twenty-one enrolled themselves with the church to be in connection with the presbytery of West Virginia. The property was then amicably divided, and thus from one common parentage, have grown two flourishing bodies of Christians.

As mentioned above, Rev. William Gould, of Gallipolis, continued preaching in the valley until 1825, at which time, several persons residing therein had become members of the church, at Gallipolis. From 1825, to 1834, there was no regular preaching, but the Rev. Dr. McElheny, Dr. McGuffie and perhaps others, preached occasionally during this interval as they were passing through the valley. At that time, all the territory now embraced in the Greenbrier and West Virginia presbyteries was included in the Lexington presbytery, and it is not strange that it was unable to hold regular preaching through such an extensive field.

In 1834, however, Rev. Francis Dutton, a licenciate, under the care of that presbytery, began his labors in this field, and on Saturday preceding the first Sabbath in August, 1835, the First Presbyterian church at Point Pleasant was organized. Mr. P. L. McAboy, of the Athens (Ohio) presbytery, who was then stationed at Gallipolis, preached the sermon on the occasion from Genesis 13: 8. The church thus organized consisted of fourteen members dismissed from the church at Gallipolis. Mr. Dutton continued to be the pastor until his death, August 15, 1839, when the church register showed a membership of seventy-six.

From these parent organizations at Charleston and Point Pleasant, have come numerous others. From that at Charleston have grown those of Malden, St. Albans and others, while from that at Point Pleasant have come that of Town Flats, in 1837; Upper Flats, in 1849; Buffalo, in 1860; and Winfield and McLean chapel, of a later date.

Among the men who have devotedly worked to spread the teachings of the church throughout the valley, have been Rev. Robert Osborn, J. M. Brown, Stewart Robinson, Thomas N. Paxton, George S. Woodhull, John Rowe, and John C. Brown. This is among the most active denominations of the valley.

Methodist Episcopal Church.—In the settlement of the trans-Allegheny region, Methodism has ever been abreast with the frontiersmen. Francis Asbury, who was one of the greatest ex-

pounders of its doctrines in America, set an example for his co-workers and successors, by traveling through the wilderness to find the small and widely separated settlements, and when he had found them, by declaring unto them the truths of Christianity. As might therefore be expected, this denomination early began its work in the Kanawha valley; but, because of the neglect in keeping records, and the destruction and loss of the same during the late war, much of great interest has been irretrievably lost.

Of the first ministers who traversed the country drained by the New river, Kanawha and their tributaries, we know but little, and of some their very names have been forgotten. But as early as 1796, they were so numerous in this region, that a conference, the first west of the Alleghenies, was held at Lewisburg, in Greenbrier county. Bishop Asbury presided, and at the close of the session he set out on a horseback journey through the mountains to Morgantown. From his journal we make the following extract:

"About seven o'clock, after crossing six mountains and many rocky creeks and fords of Elk, we made the *Valley of Distress*, called by the native Tygart's valley, where we had a comfortable lodging at Mr. White's. * * * Thence we hastened on at the rate of forty-two miles a day, and after encountering many difficulties, known only to God and ourselves, we reached Morgantown. I doubt whether I shall ever request any person to come and meet me at the Levels of Greenbrier, or accompany me across the mountains again, as brother D. Hill has now done."

The bishop seems to have carried his resolution into effect, for it does not appear that he ever held another conference in the Greenbrier country. But the work went on and was rapidly extended to the Ohio.

An old record bearing publisher's date, 1822, notices the work at "Guyandot"—then in Kanawha county, but now in Cabell—and in connection therewith, says: "An old man by the name of Miller—a member of the society from Washington county, Pennsylvania, had settled near a place called Green Bottom, between Big and Little Guiandot, and seeing the deplorable state of the people, his pious soul was grieved, and he got up a petition signed by near one hundred persons of every sex and character, and sent it to some of the preachers of the Redstone District, Pennsylvania. The result was, that some time in the year 1803, William Steele, then a traveling preacher belonging to the Baltimore Conference, was sent to explore the country." Thus we find the Kanawha valley at this date within the bounds of that conference. But it was not long to continue, for on the 23d day of May, 1804, the general conference in session at Baltimore, declared that the Greenbrier district should be included in the Baltimore conference, while the Great Kanawha valley should

be a part of the Western conference, which then included the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Illinois country, and the Natchez mission.

But owing to neglect in making and preserving records, we know comparatively little of the introduction of Methodism into the valley. It is certain, however, that Rev. Asa Shinn was one among its earliest expounders here and probably the first, who visited this immediate region. Among those who were contemporary with him, or who came soon after him, were Jacob Trueman, Samuel Brown, John Cord, Samuel Dement, William Pickett and the distinguished Henry Bascom, afterward a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal church, south, and, who, it is claimed, preached the first Methodist sermon ever delivered in the town of Charleston. This was in 1813, and two years later another, destined to the bishopric—Rev. Thomas A. Morris—delivered a series of sermons in Charleston. He deserves more than a passing notice.

Descended from a family who were the first permanent settlers of the valley, he was born April 29, 1794, in a log cabin which stood seven miles east of the present site of Barboursville, then in Kanawha county, but now in Cabell. His parents were members of the Baptist church, but the son united with the Methodists in August, 1813, and on Christmas night, 1814, preached his first sermon in the presence of an audience numbering about 200, composed of his relatives and friends of the Kanawha valley, among whom he had been reared.

Of this, his first sermon, he thus spoke to some friends on his seventy-ninth birthday: "I had a long, hard struggle to find peace. On Christmas day, 1814, there being no minister present, Thomas Buffington, a licensed exhorter, and I, held a meeting for exhortation and prayer. He exhorted and I prayed. When about to dismiss, he suggested a meeting for the evening. I said, 'Just as you like.' Said he, 'If we do have a meeting, will you exhort?' With some hesitation I replied, 'Yes, if you judge it best.' Whereupon he announced, 'There will be a meeting to-night at father's and brother Morris will exhort.' This meeting was on the lower point at the junction of the Ohio and Guyandotte rivers. As it was my first attempt at public speaking, I began with fear and trembling, though I had often felt before that I should make an effort in that direction. I spoke some forty minutes with a freedom and unction that surprised myself. I was filled with a strange peace of mind, and concluded, 'This is what I have prayed for so long'—that is, I am converted."

He married his first wife, Abigail Scales, in Cabell county, in 1814, in 1815 traveled the Kanawha Valley, and in 1816 joined the Ohio conference. For several years he traveled a circuit, then served as elder, and in 1836, was elected a bishop. He was

the last of the Methodist bishops that made the rounds of his conferences on horseback. He died at Springfield, Ohio, September 2, 1874.

The church appears to have been organized in Charleston, as early as 1816, and the congregation then worshiped in a log house which stood near the site on which the brick church was afterward built on Virginia street. From this time onward the names of Thomas Lowery, Burwell Spurlock, Stephen Spurlock, Francis Wilson, Alexander Cummins, Joseph Farrow, William McComas, William Herr, Henry S. Fernandus, David Kemper, Isaac C. Hunter and John H. Power, are remembered as among the early Methodist ministers of the valley.

Rev. Robert O. Spencer with a colleague, Joseph Deter, who died a few weeks after his arrival, came to the valley in 1833. The Charleston congregation then, as it had done for some years previously, worshipped in a frame building which stood on what is now Virginia street, but in the year 1834, Rev. Spencer W. Young, largely assisted by Charles R. Baldwin, a prominent and talented lawyer of Charleston, having at the time but recently become a member of the church, and the co-operation of the laity, among whom were Thomas C. Thomas, Luke Wilcox and Henry New, undertook and in the same year, completed a commodious brick edifice, which became known as "Asbury Chapel." It was dedicated by Rev. William Young. The renowned Henry Bascom had been engaged for that purpose, but was unable to be present. The first trustees appointed in 1833, were Thomas C. Thomas, William S. Hutt, John Trudgian, James S. Stark and Charles R. Baldwin.

From 1834 to 1844, the pastors, named in the order of their succession, were Revs. William T. Hand, David Reed, John W. Fowble, Thomas Gorsuch, H. Z. Adams and B. N. Spahr.

It was on Charleston circuit in 1837, that the distinguished Bishop Randolph S. Foster preached his first sermon. Thus it is seen that three bishops—Morris, Bascom and Foster—each of whom made for himself almost a world-wide reputation, were all identified with the pioneer work of the church in the Great Kanawha valley.

Point Pleasant, though the oldest English settlement on the Ohio river south of Pittsburg, seems to have been a difficult point at which to establish mission work, or to organize a church. There was a current tradition, that because of the brutal murder of Cornstalk here, November 10, 1777, a curse had been laid on the town, which was to continue for a hundred years. Society was at its lowest ebb, and there was not a church in the place for more than fifty years. It is a matter of record that as late as 1825, there was no church building and no resident minister. But Methodist itinerants came soon after, and about 1840 an or-

ganization was effected. Of the original membership but little is known, because of the destruction of the records several years since. Those most active in building up the cause of Methodism in this old town, appear to have been Revs. Guthrie and Burwell Spurlock. They were most active ministers, and their memory is still cherished throughout the whole extent of the Kanawha valley. Both lived to a ripe old age, and both are long since dead. The latter sleeps the last long sleep overlooking the valley of the Twelve Pole river, at the Wayne Court House, West Virginia.

The Protestant Episcopal Church.—The earliest account of an Episcopal minister in the Great Kanawha valley is that of the coming of the Rev. Joseph Willard, D. D. About the year 1816 he was sent out by the North American Land company of New York, to look after its interests in Kanawha county, where some of its lands were located. The records of the county clerk's office of that period contain entries showing that Dr. Willard, as agent of the company, made deeds to numerous persons for portions of these lands. While here he is known to have officiated as a minister of the Episcopal church in Charleston and at other points in the valley, but no organization was effected.

Soon after this the convocation at Richmond sent several missionaries into western Virginia, one of whom was designed for the field embraced in the counties of Kanawha and Mason, but who he was, what he did, or whether he ever reached the valley, is not known. But it is still a matter of record that Rev. Charles H. Page, who died in Washington City in 1876, was, in 1821, employed by the church in Virginia, as a missionary for the counties of Kanawha, Cabell and Mason. He came at once to the valley and remained for several years. Philip R. Thompson, Sr., for many years the owner of the lands at the mouth of Cole river, built, at his own expense, a church on his lands in which his own family, together with his neighbors, worshipped. It was in his family that Mr. Page made his home, and while officiating as pastor of this congregation preached frequently at Charleston, the court-house serving as a church. Mr. Page appears to have left the valley about the year 1828, from which time until 1834, there was no regular pastor, but the congregation was visited by Rev. ——— Good and others. In 1836 the erection of a church building was begun, and in October of the following year it was dedicated by the distinguished Bishop Meade.

Rev. John Martin was now installed as pastor of the church, in which capacity he continued until 1842, when he was succeeded by Rev. Dr. James Craik, who died in Louisville, Ky., June 9, 1881. He was succeeded by Rev. Henry Dana Ward, late of Philadelphia, who was followed in the rectorship by Rev. F. M.

Whittle, now bishop of Virginia. His successor was Rev. R. Temple Brown, who after a short period removed to Maryland, leaving Rev. Thompson L. Smith in charge. He remained until the beginning of the civil war, when he removed to Kansas, where he became pastor of a Reformed church.

During the war the church at Charleston was closed and without a rector, but in 1865, Rev. W. F. M. Jacobs was called to the work but resigned in 1866 and died the following year. He was succeeded by Rev. Joseph A. Nock, late of Michigan, who served the church until 1870, when he was followed by Rev. C. M. Calloway, who in turn was succeeded in 1875 by Rev. R. A. Cobbs. The membership is now more than two hundred and the structure in which it worships is one of the architectural ornaments of the capital city.

From 1820, Episcopal ministers frequently visited Point Pleasant, but no organization was effected until 1859, when Rev. Mr. Sturgess became the rector. The vestrymen, at the date of organization, were William Minturn, William Smith, Tob. Stribling, John S. Lewis and C. P. T. Moore. The rectors named in their order of succession have been: Revs. Sturgess, Thompson B. Maury, H. E. Haden, Joshua Copland and C. C. Pearson, the present incumbent.

The United Brethren Church.—In the year 1836, this numerous and energetic body of Christians began its work in what is now West Virginia, and its first organization was perfected in Mason county.

In the above year, Rev. Moses Michael, of the Virginia conference, came to Mason county as the first missionary of this denomination west of the Alleghenies, and in August, effected the first organization in a log building on Broad run, near where New Haven now stands. It is now used as a barn. The members of the class at the time of organization was as follows: Henry Nease, Elizabeth Nease, John Hoffman, Sr., John Hoffman, Jr., Christena Hoffman, Thomas Oliver, Savina Oliver, Mark Roush, Mary Roush, Peggy Morgan, Catherine Gibbs, Susan Rickard, Barbara Rickard, Mary Nease, Catherine Hoffman, Susan Riffle, Barbara Yeager, Elizabeth Hoffman and Winnie (colored). Such are the names of those comprising the first United Brethren in West Virginia or west of the mountains. Rev. J. Rhinehart was present at the organization. He died at Fishersville, Va., about the year 1852.

Rev. Michael is not only known as a pioneer minister, but also as one of the founders of the town of West Columbia. It was largely due to his energy and influence that the first salt wells were drilled at that place. There, too, he organized a congregation which reared the walls of the "Old Brick Church," which

stood on land which he himself deeded to the church. Later he removed to the west where he died several years ago.

Rev. Michael was succeeded in the pastorate of the Mason county churches by Rev. Henry Jones, who served until 1841, when Rev. B. Cohler was placed in charge, but he was relieved in 1841, by Rev. — Appleman, his successor being Rev. George M. Livingston, who was noted for his revival work. It was under his ministry that Hon. Lewis Bumgardner, long prominent in the affairs of Mason county, united with the church.

In 1845, Rev. Jonas Frownfelter was sent to the work, and he is yet remembered because of his zeal in building up the church. Nothing, save an impossibility, prevented him from reaching his appointments. As an illustration of this, we have the following, still remembered by many yet living. Coming to the Ohio river near where Syracuse now stands, he found the stream so much swollen that the ferryman refused to pull him over. Seating himself firmly in the saddle, he spurred his horse into the water, and when in midstream, he could be heard singing the familiar hymn, beginning:

“From every stormy wind that blows.”

Thus swimming the turbulent river, he reached his waiting congregation on the other shore.

Other ministers came and went, and in 1846, the work was visited by Elder Markwood (afterward bishop), and on his recommendation, was taken into the bounds of the Virginia conference, and Rev. George W. Statton became the pastor. From this time, until 1858, when the Parkersburg conference was organized, the Virginia conference sent Elders J. J. Glosbrenner, Jacob Bechtel, Benjamin Stickley and others, who traveled the territory, while among the regular ministers were Revs. John Haney, John W. Perry, J. K. Statton, W. McCain and Z. Warner. Meanwhile, the membership increased rapidly, church buildings were reared, a high school was established at Hartford City (buildings now occupied by the public schools of that town) and, the publication of a paper, *The Virginia Telescope*, was begun at West Columbia, and now it was deemed wise to organize a conference west of the mountains. This was done at Centreville, in Tyler county, in March, 1858, and the body thus created, has ever since been known as the Parkersburg conference, in the bounds of which the great Kanawha valley is included.

The new conference began its existence with eleven ministers, ten present and one absent. The former were Revs. J. W. Perry, Jacob Bechtel, L. Hess, Z. Warner, Samuel Martin, Eli Martin, William James, J. W. Miles, J. P. White and H. R. Davis. The latter was Rev. D. Engle. Nine hundred and fifty members were reported, and an average salary per minister of \$102.02.

The territory embraced within the conference included a large portion of what is now West Virginia, and was divided into several fields, viz.: West Columbia circuit, Jackson circuit, Ripley mission, Elk River mission and Kanawha mission, forming the western district, with Rev. J. W. Perry as presiding elder; the eastern district, with Rev. J. W. Miles as presiding elder, included Taylor circuit; West Union mission, Lewis circuit, Middle Island circuit, Parkersburg mission and Glenville circuit.

From this beginning this denomination has spread its work over almost the entire state, including the counties of the Great Kanawha valley, where it has a large membership with valuable church property, especially in Mason and Putnam counties.

The Catholic Church.—In the occupation and settlement of the new world, the Catholic missionary journeyed side by side with the explorer, and wherever the banners of Castile and France were planted, there too, was reared the cross—emblem of the faith of those who thus dared the perils of the wilderness. Champlain, the founder of Quebec, was accustomed to say that “the saving of a soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire,” and so thought the men who first bore the standard of civilization to the Ohio valley, the banks of the Mississippi, and the shores of Lake Superior.

One of these—Rev. Father Bonnecamps—was the first Catholic who saw the mouth of the Great Kanawha river. He was the chaplain of the French expedition, which buried the leaden plates on the banks of the Ohio in 1749. Because of his scholarly attainments, he was styled the “Jesuite Mathematicien.” The expedition reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha, August 18, 1749, where storms delayed it for two days. Whether Father Bonnecamps performed any part of the church service here is not known, but it is to be presumed that he did.

On the 20th, the voyage down the Ohio was continued, and when three leagues below the mouth of the Kanawha, Father Bonnecamps made an observation from which he determined the longitude west to be 80 degrees 1 minute, and latitude north to be 38 degrees 39 minutes 57 seconds, and all calculations made since that time, through the heart of the American wilderness, and with the rude instruments of that day, he erred by only a few seconds. From his observations on this journey, he drew the first map of the Ohio valley. It is still preserved, and is a model of accuracy.

Who the first Catholics were that settled in the Kanawha valley we do not know, but that there were some residing here at an early date is a matter of record. But no organizations were effected for a number of years. The first priest known to have visited Charleston was Rev. Father Hitzelberger, who came

on a visit to relatives or friends about the year 1836, when he preached in the court house. Subsequently he was pastor of the church at Norfolk, Va.; later joined the order of Jesuits and died there many years since.

Right Rev. Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan visited the Kanawha valley for the first time in 1842. He came from Richmond in a stage coach to Kanawha Falls, whence he went to Nicholas county to visit the Duffy's there residing. On a later visit to the valley he fell sick at a hotel in Charleston, but was removed to the residence of George Jeffries, where he was attended by Dr. Cotton.

Rev. John H. Walters visited Charleston previous to the civil war, and baptized several persons there and at Valcoulon on Coal river. Fathers Joseph Heidencamp, Henry F. Parke, Patrick McKernan and — Kallenberg from Pomeroy, Ohio, visited Charleston and other points in the valley during the civil war, but there was no stationed priest until the coming of Father Joseph W. Stenger to whose energy and zeal is due the flourishing condition of the church in the valley at the present time.

He was born in Bavaria, but accompanied his parents to Wheeling when but two years of age. There he grew to manhood; went to Maryland to study, and then to Paris, where he completed his theological studies. Returning to Wheeling he became professor of Latin, Greek and history in St. Vincent's college, in that city. Thus he continued until ordered to the Kanawha valley by Bishop Whelan. He arrived at Charleston June 5, 1866, and in August of the same year, Bishop Whelan joined him and purchased property. A school was organized that year, and Father Stenger converted the office of the late Judge Dunbar into a chapel, where the congregation worshiped until December, 1869, when the church building was completed.

Among the pioneer Catholic families in Charleston and vicinity, were the Barretts, Bellers, Beatzs, Bobnests, Brannons, Callaghans, Cavins, Crowleys, De Gruyters, Egans, Flahertys, Forgartys, Foleys, Grieshabers, Higgins, Harberers, Hoferers, Hubers, Kiefers, Lockmans, Longs, Messerers, Nugents, O'Connors, Reeds, Saunders, Kenras and Sullivans.

The church at Coal Valley, in Fayette county, together with a school, was organized in 1882, and the same year the church building was completed. For some years it was connected with the work at Charleston, but in 1888 was erected into a separate mission.

Many Catholic families early found homes in Fayette county, among them being those of James Gallagher, Martin O'Brien, John Long, John Canby, Charles Dyer, William Kenny, William Chatworth, John Holey, Denis Hector, James Lynch, James

Riley, Jaques Massot, John Waldron, Thomas O'Gara and Joseph Schweitzer.

The congregation at Coalburg was organized in 1866, simultaneously with that at Charleston. In 1877, a store room was bought and converted into a chapel, but a neat and handsome church was erected in 1884. The organization is that of a mission attached to the work at Charleston. Early Catholic families here were the Burks, Diamonds, Dunns, Conways, Farrys, Quinns, Mulcaheys, Collepys, Fenucans, Dorseys, Cusicks, Neylons, Clarks, McAulays, Hoys, Sherrys and Laydens.

The church building, erected by Miss Alphonsin Vintroux, on the battle-field at the mouth of Scary, was deeded by her to Rt. Rev. Bishop John J. Kain, of Wheeling, and dedicated several years ago.

St. Joseph's church, at Mason City, was in no way connected with the mission work at Charleston. The salt and coal interests at West Columbia, Mason City and Hartford City, were developed during the years from 1852 to 1858, and in these years numerous Catholic families settled at these places. Their first pastoral visits appear to have been made by Father Shinn in 1856, who, in connection with Joseph Ryan, began the collection of funds for the purpose of erecting a church.

The organization which was effected at the house of Edward Ryan, at Mason City, in 1857, was the result of the labors of Rev. Father Henry F. Parke. Among the members at that time were: Mathias Collet and wife, Edward Ryan, Mary Ryan, Francis Bowers, Anna Bowers, Michael Farry, Mary Farry, Patrick McDormitt, Mary McDormitt, Joseph Conley, Mary Conley, Jane Conley, James Smith, John Hamilton, Thomas Means, Mary Means, James Hart, Isabel Hart, Harry Hart, Thomas Hart, John O'Neil, Thomas Ryan, Joseph Ryan, Peter Donley, John Blank, Elizabeth Blank, George Gress and wife, James Hart, Annie Hart, John McGrill, Patrick McGrill, Austin McGrill, John Young, Matt. Young, Cornelius McGuckin, Mary Ryan, Julia Ryan, Jane Ryan, Ann Ryan, Nicholas Swartzweller, and Jacob Meiger.

The pastoral succession has been Fathers H. F. Parke, Joseph Heidencamp, Joseph Heflinger, P. T. McKernan, T. J. Duffy, and P. F. Burk, the present incumbent.

The Lutheran Church.—This denomination, although one of the most active and influential in the eastern portion of the state, has done but little to extend its field of work into the Kanawha valley. Consequently, there are now but two organizations—one at New Haven and the other in the Upper Flats, both in Mason county.

The first of these appears to have been organized about the

year 1830 by Rev. Gideon Hinkle, who, with his own hands, assisted in cutting the logs used in the erection of their first church building. Joseph Seagrist and wife, Abraham Roush, Daniel Roush, Catharine Roush, Anthony Roush and Elizabeth Roush, were members at the time of the organization.

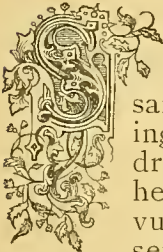
The Hebrew Educational Society.—The title by which the Jewish religious society of Charleston is known, was incorporated in March, 1873. The body owns a neat frame church building located on State street between Court and Summers, and has a seating capacity of 400. The organization was effected by Rev. Mr. Schwed, who was succeeded in the pastorate in 1875 by Rev. M. Strauss, formerly of Baltimore. To this body belong a number of the representative business men of Charleston. It is the only Jewish organization in the Kanawha valley.



CHAPTER XVII.

BY VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY — GOVERNOR BERKELEY'S FAMOUS DICTUM AGAINST SCHOOLS — PROGRESS OF TWO CENTURIES — VIRGINIA'S BACKWARDNESS IN EMBRACING THE FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM — THE "PAUPER SCHOOLS" — VARIOUS OLD TIME STATUTES — BUT LITTLE PROGRESS — THE "OLD FIELD SCHOOLS" — WHAT THEY WERE — PEN PORTRAIT OF BUILDING AND SURROUNDINGS — THE PIONEER TEACHER — READIN', 'RITIN', AND 'RITHMETIC — "BOARDING AROUND" — NAMES OF "SCHOOL-MASTERS" OF YE OLDEN TIME — GRADUAL IMPROVEMENTS — MODERN PROGRESS — SCHOOLS UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION — FIRST OFFICIAL REPORTS — PRESENT STATUS.



IR WILLIAM BERKELEY, governor of Virginia, in his report on the condition of the colony in 1670, said: "Thank God! there are no free schools or printing presses, and I hope there will be none for a hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged these and other libels." Such was the expressed sentiment of Virginia's chief executive, two hundred and twenty years ago. This was not, however, the sentiment of the people over whom he held despotic sway. They saw that the great advantages which civilized and polished nations enjoyed over those of savage and barbarous tribes were due to, and principally derived, from the invention and use of letters, and that however firmly republican government might be founded on the principles of equal liberty, justice and order, yet no real stability or lasting permanency could be hoped for if the minds of the citizens be not rendered liberal and humane, by intellectual development. They saw that national growth and national prosperity was the result of the cultivation of the arts and sciences; that the school is the nursery of mental culture; hence in less than twenty-five years after Berkeley gave utterance to the above, they were rearing the walls of William and Mary college, the oldest institution of learning south of the Potomac river.

But Berkeley spoke of "free schools," and to that kind of school there was among the people an opposition, the influence

of which stayed the progress of popular education that is of a free school system in Virginia for more than two centuries. The student of the various educational methods of the state at different periods of her existence, sees the evidence of constant antagonism which even was at work in the schools of a state which produced the best examples of the educated few, while the many remained in ignorance. That we may properly understand the history of education in our own valley, it becomes necessary for us to review briefly that of the old commonwealth of which it was so long a part.

The first reference to a school of any character in Virginia, appears in the records of the house of burgesses for the year 1642. It appears that upon the death of Benjamin Symms, he left an estate in Elizabeth City county, to be used in establishing a free school, and the burgesses in the above year declared: "Upon consideration had of the godly disposition and good intent of Benjamin Symms, deceased, in founding by his last will and testament a free school in Elizabeth county, for the encouragement of all others in the like pious performances, that the said will and testament with all donations therein contained concerning the free school, shall be confirmed according to the true meaning and godly intent of the said testator." It also appears that soon after Thomas Eaton died, and prompted by the "good intent" of Symms, left an estate in the same county for a similar purpose.

The provisions of both wills were carried into effect and two schools were established, but both must have perished under the fierce denunciation of Berkeley, for we hear no more of them for 162 years. But, January 12, 1805, the assembly passed an act providing for the appointment of trustees for these estates, and the preamble recited: "That the schools which were to have been supported by them, had been shamefully neglected, the buildings suffered to tumble into ruins, and the land dismembered of its timber. In these two schools, indigent children were to be educated free, but those able to pay tuition were required to do so. This was the germ from which grew the Virginia "Pauper Schools" of later years.

The first semblance of a primary school in the state were those known as "Charity Schools." The Revolution forever put an end to the established church in Virginia, and an act of assembly passed soon after the close of that struggle, provided for the sale of the Glebe or church lands throughout the state, and from this source, many of the eastern counties secured a considerable sum. The action of the people of King George county was similar to that of numerous other counties. By petition to the assembly, they represented that they had a large fund on hand, the result of the sale of the "Glebe Lands," and, Janu.

ary 1, 1808, that body passed an act appropriating the money to the establishment and maintenance of free schools. No teacher was to be employed therein who did not produce a certificate of good moral character. The trustees were authorized "to determine the description of the scholars to be admitted," and we therefore know nothing of the conditions of attendance.

New Kent county had a fund similar to that of King George, but of much smaller amount, and February 4, 1808, the assembly authorized the inhabitants of said county to use the same, in building houses and employing teachers for the education of poor children. The funds were placed at the disposal of the overseers of the poor, who were in the event of a deficiency, to make a levy sufficient to cover the same. This is the first instance in which Virginia authorized a direct tax for the support or partial support of a primary school. Thus came the "Charity school," from the wreck of the established church. But as parts of an educational system, they were failures. Parents, no matter how destitute, would not send their children to a school in which their very presence was evidence of poverty. Thus, thousands of children grew up without even being able to read and write, and thus was made a large per cent. of illiteracy for the state.

Coexistent with these schools was another class denominated "Academies," which were designed to be schools of a higher grade. The records of the assembly for the first fifty years of the commonwealth, teem with acts of incorporation, creating joint stock companies by which these schools were generally managed. So numerous were they that there was scarcely a county east of the mountains, in which one or more of the corporations did not exist, and to the west of the mountains were many more. The act of incorporation frequently empowered the stock-holders to raise funds by the establishment of a lottery, such as they might design, to the amount of \$5,000 or \$10,000. Many of these schools were put in operation and did efficient work, but once equipped, they depended upon tuition for their support, as well as dividends for the stock-holders, consequently, they were out of reach of the poor, who were thus placed between two systems—one, too low, and the other too high. Neither the academies nor charity schools were in the line of popular education. There was great illiteracy in the state, whose sons had been most prominent in laying the corner stones of the Republic and rearing the governmental structure thereon.

To remedy existing defects, the assembly, December 26, 1796, enacted a law, entitled, "An act to establish public schools." It provided that in every county in the commonwealth, there should be elected "three honest and able men," to be called aldermen, who should, at any time it appeared expedient to them, proceed to divide their respective counties into sections, each to contain

a sufficient number of children to make up a school. Then the voters of the section were to meet at some point within it, and by their votes determine upon the most suitable location at which to build a school-house. This done, the aldermen were to proceed to build the house, then employ a teacher competent to teach "reading, writing and common arithmetic." In these schools all free children, male and female, were entitled to receive three years' tuition gratis, and as much longer *at their own expense*, as their parents, friends or guardians might think proper. This plan, though still having the pauper feature, might have been partially successful, had it not been for the provisions of the last section, which was fatal to the whole bill.

By it the aldermen were forbidden to enter upon their duties until authorized so to do, by the county court or a majority of the magistrates of their counties. Of this, the anti-free school element availed themselves and it was only necessary, in order to stop the entire system, to have the county court refuse to issue the order. Thus the law itself placed a nullity upon the very system it was designed to establish. But when it became operative, it was the origin of what was known as the "Old Field School," to be noticed further on. These, with academies and "Charity schools," constituted the Virginia educational system during the first half of the present century. This is not remarkable when we remember that the state constitution of 1776, the organic law of the state made no mention of education.

Early in the century the state established what was known as the "literary fund," which was a kind of irreducible school fund, and by act of assembly, March 22, 1836, it was provided that the income from this fund should be distributed to the several counties of the state according to population, the same to be used for the education of the poor children. The quota thus disbursed was placed in the hands of the school commissioners of the county; the teacher who was engaged in teaching at any point in the said county was by them authorized to admit to his school the children of poor parents, that is of these who were unable to pay tuition; to make report of the attendance of said children and from the last mentioned fund their tuition was to be paid. Here was still the pauper feature, the rock which had wrecked the Virginia educational system for two centuries.

Fifty years had come and gone since the enactment of the Aldermen school law of 1796, and there were murmurings of discontent because of the defective system. Other states had flourishing school systems and were marching to the anthem of progress. The assembly saw that something better must come to Virginia, and March 5, 1846, passed an act establishing a "district public school system." Its provisions were as follows:

Upon the petition of one-third of the qualified voters of any

county, the court should authorize a vote to be taken upon the question of adopting the district school system, and if two-thirds of the ballots cast were in favor of the same, then the school commissioners elected for the purpose should divide the county into suitable districts. Then the voters of each district should elect a district commissioner, those for the entire county to be a corporate body. A board of trustees, three in number, was to be appointed for each school established. They were to select and purchase a site and build a good and sufficient school-house; to furnish the same with proper fixtures and keep the same in good repair. They were to appoint a teacher whose qualifications and moral character had been determined by the county commissioners. The studies to be pursued or taught in these schools were reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, history (especially of the state of Virginia and of the United States) and the elements of physical science, and such other and higher branches as the commissioners might direct.

It was made obligatory upon the trustees, or one of them, "to visit the school at least once in every month and examine the scholars, and address the pupils if they see fit, and exhort them to prosecute their studies diligently, and to conduct themselves virtuously and properly." It was further their duty to visit the families of the poor and prevail on them to send their children to school. All free white children over six years and under sixteen years of age were entitled to attend the schools. The quota received from the literary fund was to be divided among the several districts of the county. All expenses of purchasing land, building houses, fixtures, teachers' wages, and all incidentals were to be defrayed by the inhabitants of the county, by a uniform rate of increased taxation, and the levy laid by the commissioners was to be collected by the sheriff and by him disbursed upon orders of the board.

It was a long step toward popular education, indeed it was a free school system divested of every pauper feature, for the counties that would adopt it, but here was a difficulty. First, a vote could not be taken upon the subject until petitions signed by one-third of the voters in the county had been presented to the county court, and when the question was submitted it required a two-thirds vote to carry it. Here seemed to be an advantage gained by the anti-free school element in the framing of the law, for while every other question was decided by the "majority rule," it required a two-thirds vote on the adoption of a primary public school system. Notwithstanding, a number of counties both east and west adopted the system and put it into effective operation. We shall shortly see how it worked in the Great Kanawha valley.

Having thus briefly reviewed the history of education in the Old Dominion, we proceed to notice its development and progress here in our own valley. The first settlers were as hardy a race as ever braved the perils of the wilderness, and though injured to frontier life and exposed to savage warfare, they were far removed from that ignorance which is supposed to enshroud those engaged in the conquest of the wilderness. Not one of those first to find homes, so far as the writer knows, had had the advantages of a collegiate or academic training, but many of them possessed the rudiments of an English education. Of this there is ample evidence. They were men who had crossed the mountains to find a home for their posterity; they were not willing to have that posterity grow up in ignorance; hence we find that they were patrons of the earliest pioneer schools, rude though they were.

The "Old Field Schools," which developed under the law of 1796, were the first introduced into the Kanawha valley and several of them were in operation at the beginning of the present century.

They were all alike, and a description of one answers for the others. Let us take a glance backward and view one of them. Down on the broad river bottoms or back among the hills and valleys, are a dozen cabins, the homes of pioneers. Around each are a few acres of cleared land on which stand the deadened forests, the bare limbs and trunks, whitened by wind and weather, which when viewed in the distance resemble the masts and rigging of ships in a harbor. The proprietor is a farmer and hunter, who, when not employed in the former occupation spends his time with his rifle in the woods. About the cabin moves the busy housewife and half a dozen robust boys or buxom girls, and two or three tow-headed urchins, who because of their costumes, are of doubtful sex. Be it remembered that these old pioneers obeyed the Scriptural injunction and multiplied and replenished the earth. Such are the scenes about the dozen homes.

Down by the spring or brook where half a dozen paths bisect, is the old "clearing," which tradition says, was made by a man who was killed by the Indians or lost in the woods and never after heard of. There on the margin of that "improvement," with the primitive forest in the rear and the plat of wild grass and tangled weeds in front, these frontiersmen have met and reared the school-house. It is 16x18 feet, built of round logs from eight to ten inches in diameter; the roof of clapboards is held in place by heavy weight poles; the floor is made from puncheons split from the body of a large tree and hewed so as to have somewhat the quality of smoothness; a huge fire-place, eight or ten feet, spans over half of one end of the building, and is surmounted by a "cat and clay" chimney; logs ten inches in

diameter, split in halves, pins or legs inserted in the oval sides answer for seats; along the side of the wall pins have been inserted on which rests a broad slab, used as a writing desk; just above it, a log has been chopped out, and in its place is a rough frame-work resembling sash, over which is pasted greased paper to serve the place of glass; in the doorway swings on wooden hinges, a clapboard door. At night the structure presents the gloomiest aspect, and if Shakespeare at that time had been a popular author on the frontier, the school-house would have been supposed to be the hiding place of Hamlet's ghost.

It is autumn. A stranger appears upon the scene, and the report goes from cabin to cabin that there is a "school-master" in the neighborhood. Look at him. He is clad in the garb of the border. Whence he came none know. He brings no credentials or diploma from a college faculty, for none is required; it is only necessary that he be able to teach the three R's—reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic. To teach these he binds himself in his "article," which he carries from house to house, soliciting subscribers to the school which he is to "keep," for so much a "quarter" and "board 'round," that is with the scholars. Then he goes to the overseers of the poor, who agree in compliance with the law of '96, to pay the tuition for the indigent children of the neighborhood. Then the day is announced for school to begin, and it is understood that the teacher will board the first week at John Smith's, but none can divine where he will stay the next.

Monday morning comes. The teacher goes early, and with the aid of one of Smith's big boys, puts on a back-log, and soon a fire is roaring on the hearth. Then the boys and girls for half a dozen miles around begin to come in. Bill Jones can't come this week, for his father did not get his shoes made, owing to the fact that the leather stayed green too long in the tan trough. Bettie Davis is not there either for her mother did not get her linsey-wolsey frock made in time. The teacher meantime has been making preparations for the "quarter," by cutting a bundle of withes in the forest near by. All is in readiness, and a stentorian voice from the door cries out, "Come in to books." In they go with dinner in a chip basket made from the tough splits of the oak or hickory of the hills. Under the arm are copies of the "English reader," and Webster's "elementary speller," bought from beyond the mountains, and now was to be the one that provokes the wrath of him who presides over this temple of learning. The term closed, the teacher made his collections, and went, perhaps, none knew where.

Such were the pioneer schools of the Kanawha valley nearly a century ago. To the teachers and pupils of our modern schools, the picture may appear to be overdrawn, but the writer learned the alphabet in just such a school-house as is here de-

scribed, and that from a teacher who pronounced the word "development," devel-op-ment.

Who taught the first school in the valley, we do not know, but there were many teachers here in the first half of the present century, and numerous are their names which tradition preserves. Among these "Old Fields" teachers were Hank Van Matre, 1803; John Hereford and Samuel Smith, 1808; Jacob Ward and Joseph Springer, 1815; John Rust, 1817; William Drennan and John M. Jordan, 1818; P. Spear, John Mason, James S. Riley, Joseph Blackeny, Robert Malcolm, James Eddy, John Slack, Fannie Thayer, William Gilbert, Thomas Brandon, Harriet Hark, John Armstrong, Eli Chamberlain, Lucy Edwards, Samuel T. Wyatt, Elijah Kimberling, Jacob Gibbs, James Minturn and Alexander Hase Porter, all of whom were known — some well known — in our valley more than fifty years ago. It is to be regretted that we know so little of the men and women who carried letters over the Alleghenies, for they were pioneers in a double sense — in the wilderness and in the field of intellectual development. The attainments of many extended beyond the three R's, and a few were the possessors of a knowledge of the classics.

John M. Jordan who taught several terms at Point Pleasant, previous to 1820, had been a medical student and had attended lectures at Philadelphia, but for some cause abandoned the profession.

Hank Van Matre had received a liberal education in Pennsylvania, his native state, but having participated in the whisky insurrection in that state, he, after its suppression, found a home in the Kanawha valley. Upon the breaking out of the second war with Great Britain, he enlisted in the Mason County Riflemen, and served in the Army of the Northwest.

Elijah Kimberling taught several terms in the valley, then engaged in business. In 1852 he was elected high sheriff of Mason county. It was in his administration, November, 1853, that John McMahon, the only man ever executed in the county, was hung at Point Pleasant. Afterward Mr. Kimberling was long clerk of the county court. He died several years since.

James Minturn came from New York, where he was born and reared, and where he had received a collegiate education. He was for several years a prominent surveyor of the valley; was surveyor of Mason county, and as such began and completed the only actual survey made of it. He died several years since. A number of his descendants now reside in the valley.

Alexander Hase Porter was born in Washington City, in 1803. He was the son of Henry Porter, and nephew of James Porter, who was long the private secretary of John Q. Adams. Early in life he was sent to Cambridge university, England, from

which he was graduated in 1827. Returning to the United States, he was appointed, through the influence of his cousin, John Porter, surveyor-general of the western territories, to the chair of mathematics and language in Oxford college, Ohio. In this position he continued until 1841, when the institution became private property. Thus out of employment, he, in 1842, paid a visit to his uncle, James Porter, residing in Mason county, and from that date to 1846, he was tutor to large classes of young men at different points in the valley. He was proficient in the languages, mathematics and the classics. The influence which he wielded has not yet ceased to exist, for there yet lives a number of professional and business men, now old and gray, who were students of his, and who assert, that as a teacher, he has had no superior, and few if any equals in the valley since that time. He returned to Ohio and made his last visit here in 1857.

The first attempt to establish a school of a high grade in the valley was made at Charleston, by Col. David Ruffner, in 1816. Through his efforts the building known as Mercer academy—named in honor of Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia—was erected on the lot on which the First Presbyterian church of that city now stands. A joint stock company was organized, and by an act of the assembly, passed February 18, 1818, was incorporated under the name of "The President and Trustees of Mercer Academy." The act recited: "That a number of the inhabitants of the county of Kanawha, had by voluntary contributions, procured a suitable lot of ground in the town of Charleston, and had erected thereon a suitable edifice for the laudable purpose of educating the youth of the county."

It appears that the building had been erected on lands belonging to David Ruffner, for on the 1st day of March, 1829, he executed a deed for the same to the president and trustees, in which he set forth that "he was desirous to promote religion and learning by offering and increasing the opportunity for public worship, and of fulfilling a promise and subscription theretofore made by him."

In compliance with the conditions of the deed, the officers, by subscriptions and voluntary contributions, continued the school almost without interruption until the beginning of the civil war in 1861. The last instructor, prior to that date, was Colonel D. L. Ruffner, who, with a number of students, entered the Confederate service. During the war the building was almost continuously occupied by the Federal soldiers. In 1864, it was almost totally destroyed by fire, but the government authorities filled the rents in the walls with plank, put a roof on it, and continued to use it until July, 1865. Then deserted, it was for a time the abode of bats; later, it was occupied as a church by the colored people. Then Rev. J. C. Blaney, in 1867, opened a school in it which he

continued until it was taken possession of by the heirs of David Ruffner, who rented it to Mr. Rusk, for a cabinet shop. Then litigation began which ended in the court of appeals, and the property finally passed into the possession of the board of education of Charleston independent district as now constituted. The present high school building of Charleston, and which is an ornament to the city, bears the name of "Mercer" in commemoration of the old academy.

The second and last attempt to found a school of similar character was that of the Buffalo Academy, at Buffalo, in Putnam county. The building—a brick structure of two stories and four rooms—was built in 1849 by a joint stock company composed of Erwin McCoy, J. E. Pitrat, Benjamin K. Craig, L. L. Bronough, George E. Allen and others. The first principal was George Rossetter, A. M., afterward of Marietta college, Ohio. It continued to be a flourishing institution until the beginning of the civil war, when it was occupied alternately as a barracks by the Federal and Confederate troops, and during such occupancy all the apparatus and furniture was destroyed. Some time before the war J. E. Pitrat & Brother had advanced the sum of \$900 to defray the expenses of necessary improvements. At the close of the war they were unable to collect the amount, and they brought suit against the trustees of the building, and had it sold under a decree of the court. Their claim then amounted to \$1,200. For it they bid in the property and forthwith deeded it to the board of education of Buffalo district upon the single condition that it should be used as a public school building.

These two schools exerted a powerful influence on the educational interests of the valley. They afforded to the young of both sexes an opportunity to secure an academic education almost at home, and very many availed themselves of the advantages. This impetus aroused them to greater effort, and from the academies numbers went to find an *Alma Mater* in the University of Virginia, Washington college, now the hallowed Washington and Lee, the Ohio university at Athens, or in other institutions.

The development of the salt industry and the introduction of steam navigation on the Kanawha, brought the people of the valley into communication with the outside world, and they were no more the homogeneous mass of other days. A better class of teachers were brought to the valley. The old Lewisburg academy sent its alumni down among the people. There was manifest improvement in the "Subscription Schools," in which, in the wealthier neighborhoods along the river, it was not uncommon to find classes studying Latin and the higher mathematics. Thus from the Hawk's Nest to the Ohio, the people were doing

all that was possible under existing laws to educate the youth of the generation in which they lived.

We have said that upon the enactment of the law of 1846, providing for a "District Free School System" in any county, which under the provisions of that law, might put it in operation, many counties hastened to adopt it, and none made greater haste than the county of Kanawha. Her people secured the petition signed by one-third of her legal voters, and when her court submitted the question, it was carried by the necessary two-thirds vote. Thus the system went into operation in 1847, but one year after the passage of the law. Then there was opposition and litigation, but after a time, all obstacles were removed, and thirteen years before the beginning of the Civil war, Kanawha had a system of free schools, not only in name but in effect.

The people of Mason county, or a portion of them, made an earnest effort to adopt the system, but there was much opposition. Years came and went, and it was 1858 before they could get the sufficient number of petitioners and the necessary majority. But in that year it was accomplished through the determined work of the earnest free school men, among whom were James H. Holloway, Dr. A. L. Knight, Barney J. Rollins, William R. Gunn, Hugh Daigh, Richard H. Neale, Andrew Roseberry and James Barnett. But the work was not yet done, for here, as in Kanawha, there was opposition, and opposition meant litigation. The school commissioners refused to purchase sites, build houses, employ teachers, in short, to put the system in operation. Then James Hutchinson, attorney for the people, caused a writ of mandamus to issue against them to compel them to carry out the provisions of the law, and the cause went into the courts where it was pending when the storm of civil war put an end to all proceedings, and the system under the law of 1846 never became operative in Mason county.

War, while it continues, hinders, if it does not entirely obstruct intellectual development. A people only improve in mental culture during periods of peace, for it is then that the arts, science and literature are cultivated, and the progress in that direction must therefore cease when the masses engaged in the sterner realities of war, and especially must it be so when their territory is overrun by the marching and counter-marching of contending armies. The Kanawha valley was no exception, for while the wars continued, the schools were abandoned, and it may be said, that the years through which it lasted, constitute but a blank in the history of education. It has been said that war turns the hands backward on the dial plate of nations, sometimes for a hundred years, but certainly this was not true in the valley of the Kanawha, for her people have made more intellect-

ual progress in the twenty-five years that followed that struggle than in seventy-five years that preceded it.

When the storm of civil war had passed away, a new commonwealth had arisen on the western slopes of the Alleghenies. Many hundred valley men—some wearing the blue and others the gray—came home from Appomatox, and united in an effort to retrieve the losses, public and private, sustained during that struggle. How well they did it is illustrated best by the system of schools which they put into effect.

The tenth article of the first constitution of the state, provided for the establishment of an efficient system of free schools, and December 10, 1863, the legislature, in compliance with the constitutional provision, enacted the first school law. It differed widely from the Virginia law of 1846, and it was made obligatory upon every county in the state, to put it in effective operation. Let us see what was done in the counties lying in the Great Kanawha valley, and this is best done by reference to the reports of their first school officers.

A. I. Cunningham, county superintendent for Kanawha, in his annual report for 1865, said: "The new system is not yet fully understood, and we have many school-houses to build, the churches and school-houses were more or less destroyed during the war."

The report of Superintendent D. C. Forbes for 1866, presents the first view we have of school affairs in Mason county. He said: "Our schools are beginning to prosper, and this year we can see something of what has been done. Graham, Waggener, and Lewis townships border on the Ohio river, and include the salt and coal region. In them are our best schools. * * * In all the other townships there will be schools whenever teachers can be found."

County Superintendent J. S. Cassaday, of Fayette county, said in his annual report for 1866, "Our county has been almost destroyed by the late war, from the effects of which it has not recovered; the consequence is, no schools. The school-houses were burned or hauled off, leaving the county without houses, and we have two years of heavy taxes on us at once, the people refused to lay a levy sufficient to run the schools without aid from the state, but by subscription houses are being built all over the county and before spring we shall be ready to go ahead with the schools, and if we can get some aid from the state, together with our own exertions, I hope to be able to make a good report next fall."

The superintendent, James H. Hoge, of Putnam county, in 1866, said: "The people are beginning to understand and consequently to take a deep interest in our school system. The only objection against it with us is the large number of officers."

E. T. Moore, superintendent of Kanawha in 1866, in his annual report, said: "The great difficulty has been securing means to provide houses. In no township has this been entirely overcome, though five or six of our boards of education levied to the extent authorized by the law in 1865, the most successful one collecting a little over \$1,000, and the least so less than \$100. A number of the houses were built under the old system (law of 1846) of this county. Forty-six free schools were in operation this year, for an average of nearly three months. Both our people and school officers have shown a disposition of earnestness in the cause of education by cheerfully making liberal levies for both continuing the schools and building school-houses in most of the townships."

Read these official statements and think for a moment of the earnest efforts of a war-impooverished people to put in operation our free school system; churches and school-houses burned in Kanawha; the people of Fayette with school-houses "destroyed or hauled off," and burdened with two years' heavy tax at once; yet her citizens building houses by private subscription when the taxes for that purpose could not be paid. Mason and Putnam counties delayed in the work for want of teachers, but these came from Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, and the work went forward. The records of the entire Mississippi valley are challenged to produce a similar instance of a people under similar circumstance, making such a determined effort to found and maintain public schools. Official records are worth vastly more from a historical standpoint than mere theory, and we continue to refer to the former to show the progress of the development of the system from the embryo condition to an effective stage. We thus see how the work improved year after year.

Superintendent E. T. Moore, of Kanawha, in his report for 1867, said: "I am happy to be able to report so much accomplished during the past year. Three hundred and thirty-one months of public school have been taught in eighty-five districts in this county during the past year; an average of about four months to each district, and at an average cost to the same of \$7.00 per scholar for those actually attending. There were twenty-one districts that had no school for want of suitable houses. Twenty-six houses (twelve frame and fourteen log) have been built during the year at a cost of \$8,457.90, and fifty-two houses (twenty-two frame and thirty log) have been put under contract at a cost of \$26,789. Up to December of this year from the introduction of the system in the county, \$27,343.80, including state apportionment and township levies, had been collected." By the state superintendent's report for this year there were 1,140 schools in the state, eighty-five of which were in Kanawha county.

J. S. Cassaday, of Fayette, in his annual report for 1868, said: "We have, all told, twenty-three school-houses (six frame and seventeen log) and more in course of construction. * * * In visiting through the county, I find the people generally favoring the free school system, though it has some enemies, but my opinion is that when the machine is in running order, all opposition will disappear. The people have not recovered from the injuries which they received financially by the late war, and which makes taxation seem hard."

In 1868, D. T. Field closed his report of Kanawha by saying: "In this year two buildings were erected for colored schools; one at a cost of \$700, by the colored people, aided by the Freedman's Bureau, and another at a cost of \$1,200, of which amount the Charleston board paid \$500, the colored people \$200, and the Freedman's Bureau \$500. True intelligence promises to triumph over the opposition which hitherto embarrassed the school system. Poverty will no longer present a barrier to the development of American talent, and the hereditary and unjust distinctions between the rich and poor will be abolished in the common education of all."

Jacob Bird, superintendent of schools for Mason, in his report for 1868, thus shows the conditions in that county: "Robinson district has seven houses, and Waggener six, built at a cost of from \$800 to \$2,700 each. Graham has erected a number of commodious houses; Clendenin has also built neat and comfortable houses; Arbuckle the same. Opposition and prejudice against the free school system doubtless exists in some localities, but not to the extent they did when our public schools first commenced in their midst. Our school officers and citizens generally admit that the system is a success. That deep seated prejudice which existed on account of locality and early education, is gradually giving away. The majority of the teachers are trying to improve, and are availing themselves of every opportunity for obtaining information which will qualify them for greater success in their profession."

Superintendent John C. Lininger, of Putnam county, in 1868, says: "Our great want now is the co-operation of the masses and competent and efficient teachers. But let us have the latter and the former will be concomitant. The system in its design is grand and benevolent, and in its practical operations has already wrought much good, and promises to lay broader the foundations for that general and prevailing intelligence upon which alone we can rely for the guidance of the ship of state."

In 1869 Superintendent Cassaday, of Fayette, said: "Perseverance and energy will develop the system, and prove it to be the plan for the elevation of the masses." In the same year, Superintendent Field, of Kanawha, gave utterance to the fol-

lowing: "I can safely say that the schools of Kanawha were much better in 1869 than in 1868, and if the officers will properly discharge their duties in the future, they will, in a few more years, compete favorably with the schools of other states." Superintendent Bird, of Mason, added his testimony in 1869, by asserting that: "The cause of popular education in our midst is exciting much attention and attracting many friends on account of its practical workings. No one will deny that much more has been done within the last four or five years toward the moral and intellectual development of the youth of this county than has been done in a century previous." Superintendent Lininger, of Putnam, in 1869, said in his report: "Opposition to free schools is fast disappearing in this county. We have good houses and good schools." Thus it is seen that our free school system was developed and put into effective operation in the counties lying in the Great Kanawha valley in the space of four years, and that too, by a people who have been impoverished by long years of war, and who had marched to battle on distant fields, had listened to the tramp of contending armies in their own beautiful valley.

We close this chapter with a comparison of school interests in the valley in 1868, with those of the present, 1888 — twenty years intervening.

In 1868, in Fayette, there were nine school-houses, worth \$1,503, and nine teachers. In 1888, there were 131 school-houses, worth \$35,065, and 131 teachers and 4,095 pupils attending school. The total value of school property was \$41,931.

In 1868, in Kanawha, there were fifty-one school-houses, worth \$4,276, and fifty-one teachers, and 1,596 pupils attending school. In 1888, there were 246 rooms, worth \$58,324, and 246 teachers with 10,350 pupils enrolled. The total valuation of school property was \$72,483.

In 1868, in Mason, there were eight school-houses, worth \$963, and nineteen teachers with 1,249 pupils in attendance. In 1888, there were 173 rooms worth \$56,286, and 173 teachers with 6,581 pupils enrolled. The total value of school property was \$72,460 to which should be added \$20,000, the cost of the new building erected at Pt. Pleasant the present year, 1890.

In Putnam, in 1868, there were fourteen school-houses, worth \$1,870, and eighteen teachers. In 1888, there were ninety-nine rooms, worth \$25,575, and ninety-nine teachers with 3,685 pupils in attendance. The total value of school property was \$30,353.

The grand totals for the four Valley counties in 1888, were: 649 schools, 649 teachers, \$180,028 value of school-houses, and \$220,227 value of all school property.

Thus is shown the progress made in twenty years and such in brief is the educational history of the Great Kanawha valley.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BY VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE KANAWHA VALLEY — EARLY STRUGGLES — THE REVOLUTION — WARFARE WITH BOTH SAVAGES AND BRITISH — WAR OF 1812 — VIRGINIA'S READY RESPONSE WITH TROOPS — THE CIVIL WAR — BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER — OCCUPATION OF THE VALLEY BY OPPOSING FORCES — GOV. WISE'S FORAY — BATTLE OF SCARY CREEK — FEDERAL'S CONTROL OF THE VALLEY — BATTLE OF CARNIFEX' FERRY — ADVANCE OF LORING'S COMMAND — LIGHT-BURN'S FAMOUS RETREAT — FEDERALS DRIVEN OUT — THEIR TRIUMPHANT RETURN — JENKINS' RAID TO POINT PLEASANT — A DASTARDLY MURDER — "JOHNNIES" CAPTURE A STEAMBOAT — WITCHER'S ATTACK ON WINFIELD — ESTIMATE OF KANAWHA TROOPS IN THE WAR — CASUALTIES ON BOTH SIDES.



AR, pestilence and famine are, by the common consent of mankind, the three greatest calamities that can befall our species and war as the most direful, justly stands foremost and in front. There is scarcely a spot on the surface of the globe where men have gone, over which they have not struggled for the mastery and on which human blood has not been shed. Ever since the Aryan race left its cradle in Central Asia and began its march around the globe, it has warred with the passive races in its pathway and often with itself. Its conquest, settlement and occupation of the Great Kanawha Valley is no exception to its world-wide history.

How many of the first settlers of the valley served in the armies of the Revolution we do not know, but certain it is that some whose bones crumbled to dust on the banks of the Kanawha, were active participants in that struggle, and their enemies were two-fold, for they warred alike against the savage from the wilderness and the Briton from the sea.

Their struggle with the armed legions of barbarism at Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, is elsewhere recounted in this work, and the heroic bravery displayed on that bloody but honored field, is but an index to that of later times, for no war of the past century has presented an opportunity, in which the descendants of the heroes of Point Pleasant have not shown themselves to be the sons of noble sires and sires of noble sons.

The battle at the mouth of the Great Kanawha did not bring peace to the dwellers on the frontier. The savages, though

driven north of the Ohio, would not give up the struggle, and for twenty years they equipped war parties and sent them against the frontier of Virginia. The records of the valley present the best view to be had of these times, and of them we avail ourselves. The following extracts exhibit the military condition here in 1789—the year in which the Nation began its constitutional existence.

Early in the year 1789, the Indians were thought to be preparing for an incursion into southwest Virginia, and to stay it, George Clendenin, colonel commandant of Kanawha county, collected the available military force at the mouth of Elk and proceeded to Pt. Pleasant. Later in the year, he transmitted by private carrier, his report to the Virginia War department, in the archives of which it is still preserved. From it we have the roll of the men who accompanied him to Pt. Pleasant. They were: William Clendenin, captain; George Shaw, lieutenant; Francis Watkins, ensign; Shaderick Harriman, first sergeant; Reuben Slaughter, second sergeant, and twenty-six privates, viz.: John Lollypurt, William Carroll, William Turrell, Samuel Dunbar, Thomas Shirkey, William Hyllard, John Burns, Nicholas Null, John Cavinder, Isaac Snediker, Archer Price, Henry Morris, William Miller, Benjamin Morris, Charles Young, John Booker, Levi Morris, William George, James Edgar, Joseph Burwell, Alexander Clendenin, Michael Newhouse, William Boggs, John Moore, Robert Aron and William Morris. Such were the men who did guard duty at Pt. Pleasant more than a century ago.

August 10, 1789, the same officer forwarded to Richmond, the following bill against the state:

“State of Virginia. Dr.

“To rations furnished rangers by George Clendenin for twenty-six privates, two sergeants, one ensign, one lieutenant and one captain, from the first of March till the first of July, amounting to 3,782 rations at seven pence half penny, per ration, and purchased of William Morris, Leonard Morris and others, being a ration per day for above number of men and amounting to £118, 3s, 9d.”

This is the manner in which the “Standing army” of the valley was maintained a hundred years since.

April 15, 1790, Thomas Lewis, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, wrote Col. George Clendenin, at “Charles Town,” now Charleston, and said: It is unnecessary to mention anything respecting the situation other than that they (the people) are collected in bodies and await the moment when the savages make a formidable attack to depopulate the settlements on the Kanawha. Col. Clendenin forwarded the letter to the Virginian government by private carrier.

January 1—New Year's Day—1791—Col. Clendenin ad-

dressed a letter to Gov. Randolph, relative to the western defenses, in which he said: "I beg leave to request the honorable board to consider the peculiar situation of the county of Kanawha (then including the entire valley), and the disposition the Indians have lately exercised against it and that you and the board will indulge the county with four scouts in case the general government may not make such arrangements as their exposed situation may require. This number, I am certain, is not sufficient, but they would be of great service to alarm the inhabitants of the approach of the enemy, so as to enable them to collect together to secure themselves from savage cruelty. I feel myself disposed to make this last request from the most tender motives of affection for my own family and the lives of my friends and neighbors equally exposed."

On the 12th day of December, 1791, Daniel Boone, the founder of Kentucky, but then residing in the valley and holding the position of lieutenant-colonel of Kanawha county, wrote Gov. Henry Lee, regarding the military establishment of the county. His letter is characteristic of the man who wrote it. Here is an extract:

"For Kanaway County, 68 Privits,—Lenard Cuper, Captain at Pint plesent—17 men; John Morris, juner, Insine at the Bote-yards 17 men. Two spyes or scutes Will be nesesy at the pint to sarch the Banks of the River at the Crossing places. More would be Wanting if the(y) could be aloude. Those Spyies must be Compoused of the inhabitence who Well Know the Woods and waters from the pint to bellville 60 mildes—No inhabitence: also from the pint to Elke—60 Mildes—No inhabitence from Elke to the Bote yards,—20 mildes all inhabited."

These extracts portray vividly the existing conditions in the valley a century ago, when savage men roamed over all the country from the Alleghenies to the Pacific. Against these the frontier soldiery warred for many years. It was an effort to plant the standard of civilization in the land where barbarism had so long held undisputed sway. Civilization triumphed, and the first soldiers of the Kanawha valley did their part in the struggle. At length peace reigned. The savage war-whoop was no longer heard in the valley of the Kanawha. He no longer shot his canoe over the placid surface of the river, and the pioneer left his block-house and stockade and went forth, not with the rifle, but with the axe, to conquer the wilderness from which he had driven the enemies of civilization.

The central figure in the military affairs at that time was Col. George Clendenin. As colonel of Kanawha county, he was commander-in-chief of the Valley department. The exact place of his birth is unknown, but it was probably in Scotland, about the

year 1746. If so, he accompanied his father, Charles Clendenin, to Virginia, when but four years of age. He was a prominent frontiersman, long engaged in Indian wars, and was with the army of Gen. Lewis at the battle of Point Pleasant. In 1786 he purchased from Major Thomas Bullitt, the lands upon which Charleston, the capital of West Virginia, now stands, and in 1788, accompanied by his brothers, a sister, and an aged father, he removed to these lands, and reared the first structure at the mouth of the Elk. It was a two story, double log house, and was bullet and arrow proof. It stood for nearly a hundred years, and was known in pioneer times as Clendenin's fort. The same year of this removal, he together with Col. John Stewart, represented Greenbrier county in the Virginia convention which ratified the Federal constitution. He was a Federalist, and as such, voted for the constitution, despite the opposition, at the head of which was Patrick Henry. In 1789, when Kanawha county was formed, he furnished the books of record for the new county, for which the court allowed him nineteen hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco. He continued his residence at Charleston until 1796, when he removed to Marietta, Ohio, where he died in 1797.

The war of the Revolution terminated disastrously for Great Britain, and she called her shattered regiments home. But not satisfied, she sought another quarrel with the young republic beyond the seas. This she did by plundering our commerce, searching our ships and taking from them seamen, under the plea that they were British subjects. As ever, when the second war came, Virginia was ready with her treasure and the services of her people. She called for volunteers, and nowhere within her confines did that call meet a readier response than in the Great Kanawha valley. Shortly after the declaration of war by congress, the authorities of Mason county were instructed by Gov. James Monroe to enlist and equip a company of 110 men to be known as the Mason County Riflemen, and destined for service in the army of the northwest.

Anthony Vansickle, who had previously held a captain's commission in the state militia, proceeded at once to organize the company. He established his headquarters at Point Pleasant, and the ranks were soon filled with sturdy pioneers who were anxious to enroll their names and shoulder arms in defense of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Nicholas Yeager was commissioned lieutenant, and James Ball, ensign; Dr. Jesse Bennett enlisted as surgeon; Benjamin Lewis as drummer, and Abraham Roush as fifer. The following is a partial roster of the company as complete as it can now be made: Anthony Vansickle, Nicholas Yeager, James Ball, Jesse Bennett, Benjamin Lewis, Abraham Roush, George Riffle, Joseph Rader, John Eckard, George Clendenin, Thomas Lewis, Sr., Jacob Rickard, Leonard Cooper,

* John Johnson, Cornelius Miller, John Yeager, Isaac Taylor, William Roach, Charles Taylor, Isaac Johnson, Abraham Brinker, Henry Nease, Resin Van Matre, Henry Vansickle, Samuel Somerville, Lewis Roush, George Eckard, Emanuel Nease, Arthur Edwards, James Stevenson, Jacob Aleshire, John McIntire, Jacob Peck, William Cooper, Michael Rickard, Robert Johnson, Sheldon Gibbs, Samuel McCulloch, James McLure, John Van Matre, Samuel Bumgardner, David Bumgardner, James Hall, Robert Bryan, John Craig, William See, Nathaniel Kimberling, William Tucker, John Jackson, Paul Chamberlain, Robert Pruitt and Jacob Rottenbery.

✓ William Sterrett furnished a team and George Sebrill enlisted as teamster. The company was assigned to the Second Virginia regiment, commanded by Col. Dudley Evans, and the regiment to the brigade of Gen. Leftridge, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution. The command proceeded directly to the Maumee rapids, where it formed a junction with the army under command of Gen. W. H. Harrison, and at once began work on Fort Meigs. The regiment was sent out on a forced march of three days to re-enforce Gen. Winchester, who was then sorely pressed at the River Raisin, but did not arrive until after his disastrous defeat at that place, January 12, 1813. The company was mustered out of service at Fort Meigs, and began its homeward march only a few days before the defeat of the British under Gen. Proctor at that place, May 5, 1814, and all arrived safe except John Jackson and Thomas Lewis, who died from injuries received while working on the fortifications at Fort Meigs. In the summer of 1813 another body of troops, about twenty in number, was collected in Mason county, and under the command of Capt. William Parsons, crossed the Alleghenies and served at Norfolk, at which place they were mustered out of service in 1814. The last requisition for troops from the county was in the autumn of the last named year. A cavalry company was organized at Point Pleasant, and Capt. Peter Steenbergen was commissioned captain. The company took up its line of march across the mountains to the Atlantic coast, but was never to reach its destination. The treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814, and the joyful news had reached our shores. While Capt. Steenbergen's company rested on the summit of Big Sewell mountain, now in Fayette county, it was met by runners bearing orders for the soldiers to return to their homes.

Kanawha county men as well as those of Mason county nobly performed their part in that struggle which England in her pride forced upon us. She furnished her quota, and while Mason sent her sons to the far northwest, Kanawha sent hers over the mountains to the far seaboard. In 1813, a company numbering fifty-six

men were enlisted at Charleston and engaged for the war. The following is the roll as it entered service: Captain, John Wilson; lieutenant, Robert Wilson; ensign, William C. Wilson; orderly, sergeant, John Bagby; second sergeant, Dabney Jones; third sergeant, John Sisson; fourth sergeant, Hiram Cobbs; first corporal, Chrisholm; second corporal, Henry Cartmill; musician, John Fisher; privates — John Smith, Malcolm McCown, Reger Paull, Samuel Priestly, Joseph Stitt, James Newport, Leonard Fisher, Elisha Smith, Moses Brown, Henry McLaughlin, Luke Shiverdecker, Simeon Milam, James McCown, Leonard Cooper, Joel Rucker, John Cooper, Alexander Cartwright, Thomas Parish, Joshua Fowler, John Ray, Gabriel Dawson, Thomas Milam, Andrew Slaughter, John Campbell, Thomas Cobbs, Moses Milam, Thomas Lowe, Solomon Casdorph, Thomas Hensley, James Hensley, John Guthrie, Archibald Price, Edmund Price, George Weldy, William Fowler, James Fowler, John Donnally, Asa Fowler, Thomas Casdorph, Isham Bailey, Langston Ward, Joseph Dawson, Alexander Taylor, John Medey, Jacob Casdorph and Thomas Mathews.

The company was assigned, Colonel John Ambler's Second Virginia regiment of the first brigade of Virginia volunteers. Crossing the mountains it hastened away to the seat of war then in Tide-Water, Va., where with other trans-Allegheny men, it did efficient service. Hundreds of West Virginians hastened thither to defend Virginia's soil from the foot of the armed invader, and when the struggle ended the bones of many men from the western slopes of the Alleghenies, even from the banks of the Ohio, lay buried in the sands of Norfolk and the shores of the Chesapeake.

Captain Wilson's company was mustered out of service at Richmond, in December, 1814. These soldiers returned to their homes and all have fallen by the hand of Death. They found a resting place when they had found a home.

When the war with Mexico came Virginia was again ready, and while there were no organizations within the Kanawha valley, soldiers from within its limits enlisted in companies formed elsewhere in the state, and saw service on the table lands of Mexico. Some enlisted in a company from Staunton, Augusta county; others in one from Christiansburg, and still others, the greater number, in a company which was enlisted in Cabell county. It rendezvoused at Guyandotte, and then proceeded to Newport Barracks, where it was mustered into service and attached to the Eleventh United States infantry, Col. Ramsey commanding. Proceeding by way of New Orleans it landed with Gen. Scott at Vera Cruz, and marched with the advancing columns to the City of Mexico.

Owing to its geographical position and the divided condition

of the people, the Kanawha valley was destined to become the theater of active military operations during the civil war. The present vast mining interests were not then begun; there was no railway connection with the outside world; the river was not then improved as at present, and the manufacture of salt in the upper part of the valley, and agriculture on the fertile lands of the lower portion were the chief industries, and in them almost the entire population was engaged. That population by the census of 1860 was as follows:

Counties.	White.	Free colored.	Slave.	Total.
Mason	8,750	47	316	9,173
Putnam	5,708	13	580	6,301
Fayette	5,716	10	271	5,997
Kanawha	13,785	180	2,184	16,150
Total.....	33,959	250	3,351	37,621

When the storm of war came, these people, notwithstanding their homogeneous character, and common interests, were widely separated in opinion. When the call of arms came from the south and from the north, a singular scene was presented. It was that of hundreds of brave and determined men, hastening to the respective recruiting stations, and enlisting under the flag—emblem of the cause which they believed to be just. This scene was not only witnessed in the same beautiful valley, but in the same county, and often in the same town or village.

The oldest military organization of the valley at the time, was the Kanawha Sharp Shooters, of Charleston, and as a guide to the sentiment of the people and spirit of the times, we reproduce the following from the preamble of the constitution which they adopted January 16, 1861:

“The history of all nations and civilizations develops a truth which cannot be overlooked, and that truth is that every successive generation has ideas and prejudices differing in a greater or less degree from that preceding it, and that every series and generation, the time of series depending much on the habits of the people and their government, is liable to violent convulsions, sometimes ending in permanent disruption, in the body politic, sometimes in the mere national liberty, sometimes in despotism or a temporary retrograde; for we hold it to be true that human progress is eternal. We must also be struck with the fact that familiarity with arms and the cultivation of a taste for war and military exercises and parades, both improves the standard of a race, ennobles it and develops those higher char-

acteristics which become dwarfed and crippled when the whole mind is allowed to center itself on trade and the amassment of wealth, and it being manifest that two peoples connected by political bonds, but differing in their social organization, diverse in their habits of thought, and diverging in their prejudices and tastes, may eventually either come to a conflict of arms, or peaceably separate their political relations, that each may the better cultivate his tastes and social tendencies and pursuits, and in a way suited to itself and impel its own developements undisturbed by the other. Now, with a proper regard for these truths, and the better to be ready at all times to defend our own homes and the commonwealth to which we owe our primary allegiance from whatever shock that may come out of the progress of events, we resolve to perform our duty by forming ourselves into a military company under the title of the Sharp Shooters." This company as an organization, later entered the Confederate service. Similar expressions to the above were given by a convention at Point Pleasant, nine days earlier, by the men, many of whom entered the Federal ranks.

The rival armies saw in the production of salt and the crops of the fair fields two factors essential to the maintenance of the powerful levies then being brought into the field, and both hastened to possess the same. Accordingly, in June, 1861, ex-Gov. Henry A. Wise, entered the valley with a Confederate force officially estimated at 2,705 men, and established his headquarters at "Two Mile," below Charleston. A Federal force was speedily collected at Gallipolis, Ohio, for the purpose of operating against Wise. It consisted of the Twenty-first Ohio infantry, Col. Jesse S. Norton; the Eleventh Ohio, Col. De Villiers; the Second Kentucky, Col. Woodruff; the First Kentucky, Col. George W. Neff, and Capt. C. S. Cotter's Battery A, of the First Ohio light artillery. This force, under the command of Col. J. D. Cox, began its march up the Great Kanawha, and on the 17th of July reached the mouth of Scary creek, in Putnam county, at which place it was met by a body of Confederates, consisting of the Berden riflemen, Capt. A. R. Barbee; the Kanawha riflemen, Capt. George S. Patton; Capt. John S. Swann's rifle company; Maj. Sweeney, commanding a small body of infantry; Capt. Thomas Jackson's battery of light artillery; Capt. J. M. Corn and Col., afterward Gen., A. G. Jenkins, commanding cavalry.

The battle began and brisk firing continued. Lieut.-Col. T. J. Allen, of the Twenty-first Ohio, fell mortally wounded; Col. Norton received a severe wound. At a late hour Col. De Villiers, Col. Woodruff and Lieut.-Col. Neff rode upon the field, and, mistaking a body of Confederates for their own men, entered the line and were made prisoners. Night came on and

the Federals fell back to the mouth of the Pocatalico river, leaving twenty-one dead and thirty wounded. The Confederates, whose loss was much less, proceeded to Charleston. A few days later Wise abandoned the valley and Cox occupied Charleston.

Gen. Jacob D. Cox, the Federal commander, was descended from an old family, long settled near Montreal, Canada, at which place he was born in the year 1828. He graduated from Oberlin college, Ohio, studied law and engaged in practice at Warren, in the same state. Upon the breaking out of the Civil war, he entered the army with the rank of brigadier-general. He was governor of Ohio in 1866-7, and secretary of the interior during a portion of President Grant's second term. He has contributed much to the literature of the late war.

The Federals continued in possession of the valley until September, 1862, with, however, a transfer of some of the regiments of Cox's command to other fields while their places were filled by the Fourth and Ninth West Virginia regiments, the Thirty-fourth, Thirty-seventh and Forty-seventh Ohio infantry and the Second West Virginia cavalry. These troops occupied Charleston, Camp Piatt, opposite Brownstown, Kanawha, with their most eastern out-post at Fayetteville. From these points scouting parties overran the country south and east. One of these, a detachment of the Fourth West Virginia infantry, under command of Major John T. Hall, on the 6th day of August, 1861, fell in with a body of Confederate cavalry at Kennedy's Hill or Beech Creek, in Logan county. It was a surprise to the Federals, who were completely routed, with a loss of three killed and eight wounded, among the former being Major Hall. He and Lieut.-Col. James R. Hall, of the Thirteenth West Virginia infantry, killed in action at Cedar Creek, Virginia, October 19, 1864, were brothers, the only sons of Hon. John Hall, of Mason county, who was president of the convention that framed the first constitution for West Virginia.

Early in September, 1861, Gen. Floyd, at the head of a strong Confederate force, advanced into Western Virginia and took position near Carnifex' Ferry on Gauley river, and here, on the 10th of the month, after sharp skirmishing in the vicinity of Summerville, the county seat of Nicholas, he was attacked by Gen. W. S. Rosecrans with a Federal force consisting principally of the Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Ohio infantry and Snyder's and McMullen's batteries. The Tenth Ohio led the advance, and the Confederates received the assault with spirit and poured a deadly fire into the ranks of their assailants. Darkness put an end to the action and both armies rested upon the field. But before day-dawn the Confederates were gone and the most important battle in Virginia, west of the mountains, was ended. The Federal loss was 225 killed and wounded, among the latter

being Col. Lowe, a gallant and meritorious officer commanding the Twelfth Ohio.

After an occupation of more than a year the Federals were for a time forced to abandon the valley and what is known as Lightburn's retreat will ever be a prominent event in its history. In the spring of 1862 General Cox marched eastward from Charleston and occupied a position at Flat Top Mountain; thence, in August, he moved to join General Shields in the Shenandoah valley, leaving General J. A. J. Lightburn in command of the Kanawha valley district with headquarters at Gauley Bridge, in Fayette county. His most eastern outpost was Fayetteville, occupied by the Thirty-seventh Ohio infantry, in command of Colonel Sibert. The entire Federal force in the valley numbered about 3,500 men, and consisted of the Fourth West Virginia infantry, Lieut.-Colonel Russell commanding; Ninth West Virginia infantry, Colonel Skinner in command; Second West Virginia cavalry, Colonel (afterward General) Powell; Thirty-fourth Ohio, known as the Piatt Zouaves, Colonel Toland; Forty-seventh Ohio, Colonel Parry, and Dr. Lille's battery of light artillery.

About the first of September, General Loring advanced toward the valley at the head of the largest Confederate force ever sent into this region. On the morning of the 9th of that month an attack was made on the Federal position at Fayetteville and Colonel Sibert hastily retreated. His force was closely pursued and he was compelled to make a stand at Cotton Hill, but it was an abortive effort, and after a slight engagement he continued the retreat and joined General Lightburn at Gauley Bridge. From there the entire force fell back to Camp Piatt, when at noon on the 11th a stand was made but the Confederates came on in force and at daybreak on the morning of the 12th, the Federal advance reached Charleston, where, in the next twenty-four hours, the entire army of occupation was concentrated. Early on the morning of the 13th, the Confederates appeared in large numbers on Cox's hill and on the opposite side of the Kanawha. A council of war determined that the safety of the Federal army could only be found in a precipitate retreat toward the Ohio. Accordingly, the government stores which could not be removed were fired and the retreating columns, with a train of more than 1,100 wagons and stores valued at more than a \$1,000,000, crossed Elk river under fire and burned the bridge behind them.

An artillery duel was kept up until noon when the firing ceased, the Federals having withdrawn on the march toward the Ohio. It was feared that the Confederate cavalry on the south side of the river would pass the stream, and cut off the retreat toward Point Pleasant, so when two miles below Charleston, the

columns turned to the north on the Charleston and Ravenswood Pike, and in three days the army with its train was safe on the banks of the Ohio. Transports conveyed the regiments from Ravenswood to Point Pleasant, while the train passed the river at Portland, and thence overland by way of Chester and Pomeroy, reached the same place. At Point Pleasant the army was augmented by the addition of Milroy's brigade, from Washington City. Gen. Cox, with his brigade, hastened from the Shenandoah valley by way of Harper's Ferry, to Point Pleasant, whence with the army, now increased to 12,00 men, he began the march up the Kanawha, but before reaching Charleston, the Confederate army, the command of which in the meantime had been transferred to Gen. John Echols, abandoned the valley, and thus ended its last actual occupation by it.

Early in the year 1863, a report became current within the Confederate lines that a vast quantity of government stores were deposited at Pt. Pleasant, and that a large number of horses were corralled at the same place. Gen. Jenkins, then commanding a brigade of cavalry, stationed at Dublin Depot, on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, conceived the idea of making a raid over the mountains and down the Kanawha for the purpose of capturing these stores. Accordingly, about the 20th of March, in the above year, a detachment numbering about 800 men, and consisting of portions of the Eighth and Sixteenth Virginia cavalry, commanded by General Jenkins in person, and Dr. Charles Timms, of Putnam county, as surgeon, began the long ride of 200 miles over mountains and in the most inclement season of the year. On the 27th of March, the column reached Hurricane Bridge, in Putnam county, where was stationed a Federal force consisting of Companies A, Capt. Johnson; B, Capt. Milton Stewart; D, Capt. Simon Williams, of the Thirteenth West Virginia Infantry, and G of the Eleventh West Virginia. Early on the morning of the 28th, Maj. James Nowning, of the Confederate force, under a flag of truce, reached the headquarters of Capt. Stewart, the senior Federal officer, and demanded an unconditional surrender. With these terms Capt. Stewart refused to comply and Maj. Nowning departed with the statement that an attack would be made in thirty minutes. At the expiration of the time the firing began. It was returned with vigor and for five hours the rapid discharge of muskets—the only arms in possession of either side—rang out on the still morning air. Then the Confederates withdrew and continued the march toward their objective point—the mouth of the Kanawha. The Federals lost several killed and wounded, among the former being Ultmas Young and Jesse Hart, both of Mason county.

On the morning of the 29th, the day after the engagement at Hurricane Bridge, the Confederates reached Hall's Landing on

the Kanawha. Just as the steamer "Victress," Capt. Fred. Ford, of Gallipolis, Ohio, in command, and having on board United States Paymaster B. R. Cohen, in whose possession was a large amount of government funds, was descending the river. When nearly opposite the landing she was hailed from the bank by an individual, apparently alone, the command being concealed from view. The pilot recognized the signal and turned the boat toward the shore; when nearing the bank she was met by a storm of bullets. Capt. Ford at once realized the situation and ordered the steamer to be backed. She was hastily gotten into mid-stream but not until she was riddled with bullets. From her appearance it would have seemed that not one on board could have escaped alive, and yet strange to say not one was hurt. She continued on her voyage and upon arriving at Point Pleasant, her officers notified Capt. Carter commanding at that place, of the presence of the Confederates in the valley, but he heeded not the warning, and permitted himself to be completely surprised the next day.

From Hall's Landing the Confederates continued the march to Point Pleasant, where the advance arrived about 11 o'clock March 30th. At the time Capt. John D. Carter commanding Company E, of the Thirteenth West Virginia infantry, the only Federals in the town, was encamped between Main and Viand streets, two squares above the court house, and when the firing (the first intimation of the presence of the Confederates) began, refuge was speedily found in that building. Here they were closely besieged for four hours, during which time a desultory fire was kept up on both sides.

Citizens of the town fled to Gallipolis and spread news of the attack; from there re-enforcements arrived on the opposite side of the Ohio, bringing a battery of artillery. Preparations were at once made to bombard the town, it being believed on that side of the river that the Confederates, instead of the Federals, occupied the court house, but the false impression was corrected in time to save the town. The Confederates, disappointed in not finding the expected stores in quest of which they had ridden 200 miles, and despairing of being able to dislodge the Federals, withdrew, crossed the Kanawha, and that night encamped on the headwaters of the Ohio Eighteen, in the southern part of Mason county, and the next morning took up the line of march for Tazewell county, Va. The Federal loss was one killed and one wounded, viz.: D. Pritchett, of the Fourth West Virginia infantry, was shot and fell dead in the court house; Lieut. Hawkins, of Capt. Carter's company, was shot through the lungs, but afterward recovered. The Confederates had three killed and five wounded; among the former was Albert Neale, and among the latter, Edward Guthrie, both of Mason county.

While the engagement was in progress, one of the most execrable acts of the war occurred. This was the killing of the venerable Col. Andrew Waggener, then in the eighty-fourth year of his age, by a Confederate soldier. The colonel, having heard the firing, and not knowing the cause, was riding toward town on the Crooked Creek road, and carrying a heavy cane as was his custom, when he was met by a soldier who halted him and demanded his horse. He refused to give it up, the soldier then attempted to take hold of the reins and the colonel struck at him with the cane. The soldier then fired, and the aged veteran fell from his horse. Thus, he, who a half a century before, had passed unharmed through storms of shot and shell, at last fell and died on a battlefield, and in an action in which he was not engaged. Col. Waggener had served throughout the second war with Great Britain, and had won distinction at Craney's Island. His father was major in Washington's army during the Revolution, and he and a brother were at Braddock's defeat, where the latter was killed.

On the morning of the 1st of February, 1863, Capt. Charles Regnier, commanding the government steamer, "B. C. Levi," then lying at Gallipolis, received a dispatch commanding him to hold the boat in readiness to convey Gen. Scammon and staff to Charleston. The boat steamed up to Point Pleasant, there to await the arrival of that officer, who was descending the Ohio. By 3 o'clock P. M., of the 2nd, all were aboard, and the voyage up the Kanawha was begun. That night at 1 o'clock A. M., the steamer reached Red House Shoals, and it was found that she could not run the chute until daylight and her captain lashed her to the bank on the Red House side of the river, to await the coming of daylight. Gen. Scammon informed Capt. Regnier that the scouts had reported the absence of an enemy for many miles around, and he therefore deemed it unnecessary to place guards on duty. But while resting in their supposed security, a band of about twenty-eight Confederates, under command of Maj. Nowning, quietly boarded the boat, under cover of darkness, and made prisoners of the general and staff, and thirteen Federal soldiers, who were returning to Charleston to rejoin their regiments, and the entire boat's crew. Possession was also taken of a few boxes of hospital supplies, which was all the merchandise on board the boat. The steamer, at daylight, was run across the river to Winfield, where a few Confederate soldiers were taken on board, and then she was steered four miles down the river, to Vintroux Landing. Here she was lashed to the bank and all but Gen. Scammon and staff given five minutes to leave the decks. These five minutes were improved by the crew and at the expiration of the time the torch was applied and the steamer burned to the water's edge. Gen. Scammon and staff

were then mounted on bareback horses and mules — the general on one of the latter — and the cavalcade took up the line of march toward Richmond. The soldiers who were on board were paroled, and finally found their way to Charleston, and the boat's crew proceeded on foot from the scene of the burning to Buffalo, five miles below, where they awaited the arrival of a steamer from Gallipolis, to convey them to that place. Capt. Regnier reported the proceeding to the government authorities and was exonerated from all blame in the matter. Soon after his arrival at Gallipolis, he repaired to Mobile, Ala., and entered the naval service, in which he continued until the close of the war.

In the autumn of 1864, the Federal Gen. John H. Oley, then in command of the Kanawha valley department, sent Capt. John M. Reynolds with Company D of the Seventh West Virginia cavalry, to occupy Winfield for the purpose of protecting the transportation on the Kanawha. When this force reached its destination, it at once began the construction of a rifle pit around the encampment, which included the present site of the flouring mills at that place. Traces of the ditches then dug around the embankments may yet be seen. Late in October Col. John Witcher with detachments of several Confederate regiments occupied the region drained by Mud river, and while there learned of the presence of the Federal troops at Winfield. Col. Witcher at once resolved to attack them, and selecting a force of about 400 men, placed himself at their head, with Col. Thurman second in command. The ride through Teays valley by way of Hurricane Bridge brought them to Winfield about 9 o'clock in the evening, and an hour later an attack on the Federal position began. Col. Witcher with half his force proceeded up the river bank from the lower end of the town, while Col. Thurman at the head of the other column reached the Federal position by proceeding down a small stream known as Ferry branch, which enters into the Kanawha at the upper end of the town. His company was first to reach the position and first to bring on the engagement. He ordered a charge, leading it in person, and just as the head of the column reached the corner of Ferry and Front streets, it received the first fire and Col. Thurman fell mortally wounded. He was carried to the rear where he soon after expired. The firing now became general and continued for an hour, several being killed and wounded on both sides. Then the Confederates, having secured a number of horses, withdrew, and fell back to Mud River Bridge, leaving the Federals in possession of the town. This put an end to the active military operations in the immediate valley.

One of the most important military events in which valley men participated, was what is known as the Dublin raid, and the battle of Cloyd Mountain. The regiments engaged on both sides

contained many men from the valley counties. Early in the spring of 1864, Gen. George Crook assumed command of the valley department, and at once began the concentration of a strong force at Fayetteville. It was composed of the Twelfth, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-sixth and Ninety-first Ohio infantry, Mulligan's battery of the First Ohio artillery, the Third West Virginia cavalry and the Ninth, Tenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth West Virginia infantry, and Battery B, First West Virginia light artillery. May 2nd, the line of march through the mountains to Dublin Depot, in Pulaski county, Va., began. The roads were in bad condition, and the army made but slow progress. On the 4th it encamped at Loup creek, in Fayette county, on the 5th at Mercer, in Mercer county, on the 6th at Princeton, in the same county, on the 7th near Rocky Gap, in Bland county, Va., and on the 8th at Shannon, in Giles county. On the morning of the 9th, on the slopes of Cloyd mountain, it encountered a Confederate force consisting of Eighth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Virginia cavalry, and the Thirty-sixth, Forty-fifth and Sixtieth Virginia infantry, together with Bryan's battery and detached portions of other organizations, the whole under the command of Gens. Jenkins and John McCausland.

The sound of battle at once rang out upon the morning air, and died away in prolonged echoes among the Alleghenies. There was terrible slaughter. Four hundred Confederates and 600 Federals were either killed or wounded. But it was a victory for the Federal arms, and the confederates retreated, leaving Gen. Jenkins wounded upon the field. He was carried to the house of David Cloyd, where a Federal surgeon amputated his arm at the shoulder, but he was unable to withstand the shock, and died from its effect.

In the military history of the Kanawha valley, there is but little to be gleaned from official sources. By far, the greatest portion of the active operations were conducted by detached portions of the contending armies, and of such, there appears nothing relative thereto of an official character. For this reason, the report of Gen. Wise, relative to the battle of Scary Creek can not fail to be of interest. We give it complete, with the exception of one slight omission.

“CAMP AT TWO MILE, VA.,

“Thursday, July 18, 1861.

“Since mine of yesterday, I have the proud satisfaction to report to you a glorious repulse of the enemy, if not a decided victory. Col. Norton, of the Twentieth Ohio infantry, yesterday approached the mouth of Coal with about 1,200 men, expecting, as he says, to be supported by two regiments, making in all about 3,000. I had ordered Col. Patton to retire gradually from Scary creek, below Coal, to Coal mountain and the passes across Coal

river, concentrating his forces finally at Bunker Hill on Upton creek, on the left bank of the Kanawha. But when Norton approached, he returned to Scary creek, and met him and his 1,200 there with about 800 men and two iron sixes. Norton had one heavy piece of artillery, and the battle across the creek ravine commenced about 4 P. M. It was soon shown the enemy had better guns, both ordnance and small arms, but our men stood steadily and firmly fighting for about half an hour, when a panic seized three-fourths of them; portions of each company fled. At this moment Col. Patton dashed on horseback to rally his men, when his horse, for a short distance, became unruly and caused them to mistake his movement; but he rallied a portion of them, returned instantly to action and in fifteen minutes received a bullet in his left shoulder, which took him off the field. Jenkins, Bailey, Swan and Sweeney stood their ground, as also Col. F. Anderson, with two companies posted so far on the left that they, up to this time, had not come into action. The most of the men who had fled, again rallied, and were fighting bravely when the enemy's superior piece of artillery disabled one of our sixes, killing Lieut. Welch and mortally wounding a private. * * * Capt. Jenkins bravely took the command for the moment, until Col. Anderson came up from the left and rallied a forlorn hope, in which he and Bailey, Swan and Sweeney, bore the whole brunt of the enemy for some time, until they were re-enforced by Capt. Corns from the post on Coal mountain and by the rally of those who had fled. This won the day, drove back the whole force of the enemy, captured Cols. Norton, Woodruff (Second Kentucky infantry), De Villiers (Eleventh Ohio infantry), Lieut.-Col. Neff, Capts. Austin and Ward, and some ten or twenty privates, and killing about thirty. Our loss was one killed and two wounded—but one mortally.

“HENRY A. WISE,

“General, Commanding.”

Various statements have appeared relative to the number of men under General Wise during his occupancy of the valley, and in all or nearly all the numbers is doubtless greatly exaggerated. His own statement must be taken, and from his report made July 8th, 1861—nine days before the engagement at Scary, we have the following:

Troops.	Number.
General and staff.....	12
First and Second Kanawha regiments.....	1,483
Kanawha Battalion.....	459
Independent companies (7).....	535
Mounted Rangers (three companies).....	216

Total 2,705

Thus it is seen that while his force has been estimated at from 5,000 to 7,000, it was less than 3,000.

We are unable to give the exact number of men from the four valley counties, who entered the respective armies, but a careful estimate places it at 1,700. The greater number from the lower portion of the valley entered the Federal army, while from the upper, the majority went to fill the ranks of the Confederate regiments, so that taken as a whole, the enlistments were pretty equally divided. How well these men discharged their duty as soldiers, the decimated ranks, at the close of the war, show. That valley men died or felt the piercing sting of gaping wounds on many fields is evidenced by records before us. We have not space to mention in detail the many organizations, but the following lists of casualties of two companies may be taken for all, for they alike shared the perils and hardships of war.

Company A, Thirty-sixth Virginia Confederate infantry, was enlisted at Buffalo, Putnam county. It entered service in May, 1861, and disbanded at Christiansburg, Va., April 12, 1865, three days after the surrender at Appomattox. Among its casualties were: Capt. William E. Fife, severely wounded at Kernstown; B. B. Sterret and Columbus McCoy, wounded at first battle of Winchester; W. H. Peck, lost an arm in action, at Piedmont; R. E. Bryan, hand shattered in action at Fayetteville; Casey D. Eskew and Robert Washington, taken prisoners and both died in confinement at Fort Delaware; Charles Bronough, John D. Wyatt and Adison Newman died in camp in the early part of the war; William Henson and T. H. Harvey, wounded in action at Fort Donalson; B. L. Hill, died of disease on New River; William Meeks was killed by a citizen, in Buffalo, while on a visit home; William Morgan and W. G. George, were killed in the battle of Fayetteville; I. V. Newman and S. E. Staten, wounded in action at Cloyd's Mountain; John Farrow, killed in battle at Leetown, Va. In addition a number were captured and served long terms of imprisonment.

Company C, Fourth West Virginia Federal infantry, enlisted in 1861, and were discharged at the close of the war. Among its casualties were: Jacob VanMatre, wounded in action at Vicksburg; John Curtis, wounded at Vicksburg; Jacob C. Lewberry, killed in action at Beech Creek, Va.; Patrick Conley, died at Young's Point, La.; James C. Neal, killed in action at Vicksburg; Michael Faughner, killed in action at Vicksburg; Nicholas Porter, died of wounds received at Vicksburg; John McAllister, killed in action at Vicksburg; Swinefield Hill, died at Walnut Hills, Miss.; Joseph Quinn, killed in action at Vicksburg; Thomas McManns, drowned in Ohio river, near Burlington; Amos Workman, died of disease at Camp Sherman, Miss.; James Workman, died in hospital at St. Louis; Henry

Conway, wounded at Vicksburg; Joseph Ryan, wounded at Missionary Ridge, Tenn.

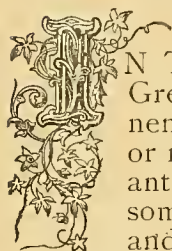
So read the long death rolls and records of battle-scarred veterans of the Kanawha valley. Some wore the blue, some wore the grey, but the dead and the living died and suffered alike for what they believed to be right. They were soldiers in the full meaning of the term, and were descended from a pioneer ancestry of whom it was said: "They are farmers to-day, statesmen to-morrow, and soldiers always," and the performances of the Valley men in the late war lend honor to their ancestral heritage, and maintain the reputation of the soldiery of the Great Kanawha valley. With the return of peace these men came home, laid by the military trappings, donned the citizen's garb, and united in an effort to secure the intellectual and industrial development of their beautiful valley. How well they have succeeded in the former let the chapter on the educational history of the Kanawha valley answer, and for an answer to the latter behold the busy hum of industry in which is employed a population, increased from 37,621, in 1860, to 99,858, in 1890.



CHAPTER XIX.

BY CHARLES E. HOGG.

BENCH AND BAR—EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE PROFESSION—FIRST COURTS IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY—METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION—OLD TIME COUNTY COURTS—PIONEER PRACTITIONERS—THE WAR PERIOD—EFFECTS OF THE FAMOUS LAWYER'S TEST OATH—HARDSHIPS OF THE SAME—SKETCHES OF EMINENT JUDGES—BRIGHT MINDS OF THE KANAWHA BAR—BRILLIANT ADVOCATES AND SHREWD SPECIAL PLEADERS—ANECDOTES OF THE PROFESSION—MR. FISHER'S WIT AND REPARTEE—REVIEW OF NOTED LAW CASES—INCREASE OF LITIGATION AND CHANGES IN MODES OF PRACTICE.



IN THE territory properly embracing the valley of the Great Kanawha river, have lived and died some eminent judges and lawyers, of whom very little is known or remembered, unless it be by their immediate descendants or close personal friends, and the very memory of some of these able jurists is giving way to dark oblivion and in a few years all trace of their useful lives will have disappeared, and their noble characters as examples to their fellow men lost, should effort to render an account of their labors, doings and utterances in life, be much longer deferred. The professional and judicial careers of these men afford abundant material for volumes of instructive and interesting matter, not only to the lawyer, but to other readers as well. But in view of the scope of the work for which this contribution is designed, want of sufficient space prevents our going as fully into the consideration of the subject matter as the deep concern we feel in this behalf, constrains us to do.

It is not our purpose in this sketch to go into biographic detail, as this more properly belongs to another part of this work, the object of this branch of the history being intended to present to the reader a concise account of the judicial and professional labors of the members of the bench and bar, together with some of their chief personal characteristics and peculiarities as individuals and lawyers, leaving all other things relating to their lives to be treated of by the author of that portion of the work devoted to biography only.

A little more than a century has elapsed since the first courts were organized in the Kanawha valley, the earliest ones being established in Charleston in the year 1789. Prior to this liti-

gants living on the shores of the "river of the woods," as the Indian name of Kanawha signifies, were required to traverse an almost trackless wilderness, to reach the seat of justice, the nearest being situated in Greenbrier county, about 160 miles from the western border of the valley of the great Kanawha, and in Christiansburg, in Montgomery county, distant from the Ohio river about 200 miles.

The territorial jurisdiction of these first courts of our fertile and busy valley can scarcely be appreciated by our lawyers and litigants of to-day, who enjoy the means of rapid transit by rail and commodious steamer in compact judicial circuits; and the bare statement of the scope of country over which the pure and uncorrupted streams of even-handed justice flowed from these early courts as their fountain, carries with it not only surprise but is almost staggering to the credulity of our modern practitioners at the bar, of whom so many take delight in the pursuit of a life of "inglorious ease."

The people residing in the territory embraced in the counties of Kanawha, Putnam, Mason, Cabell, Wayne, Lincoln, parts of Logan, Boone, Fayette, Jackson, Roane, Gilmer and Calhoun, resorted thither to attend court, not only in matters of litigation involved in actions at law and suits in equity, but in police and fiscal business also. The citizens scattered along the extreme southwestern boundary of our state desiring even the location and establishment of a public road, could not promote their desires without making a trip to the county seat on the northern banks of the Kanawha where the rude court house, constructed of rough boards and roofed with the same material was located.

From this place the sheriff sallied forth to collect the taxes, and from this point emanated all judicial process, and to execute it in the remote parts of the courts' jurisdiction frequently required days of hard riding and sometimes diligent search.

The grand and petit jurors serving in the pioneer courts of the valley, frequently traveled nearly 100 miles in going to the county seat and as many miles in returning, nearly always making the journey on horseback, requiring nearly a week to make the trip exclusive of the days of jury service. These hardships and inconveniences, incident to the wide-extended territory of the courts' jurisdiction, continued until the other counties in the valley of the Great Kanawha were formed; the first being Mason in the year 1804; the next, Fayette, in 1831, and the last, Putnam, in the year 1848.

The court of original general jurisdiction was called the circuit superior court of law and chancery, and corresponded to our circuit court of to-day in the extent of its powers, the only difference being in name. The judge who sat in the former was clothed with authority to hear and determine causes in law and

equity, just as our present circuit judges do. The county courts, composed of the justices of the peace in the county, had jurisdiction of all police and fiscal affairs, just as our county courts now have, and in addition thereto they had concurrent original jurisdiction with the circuit superior courts of law and chancery in all misdemeanors, as well as in all other cases at law and in equity, excepting felonies.

These county courts had the power to probate wills, grant letters of administration upon the estates of decedents, appoint and qualify fiduciaries and settle their accounts as our county court now does.

Under our system of judicature, as at first organized, no one could be held to answer a charge of felony in the circuit court, until he was first examined in the county court, and if upon examination the court was of opinion that there was probable cause for holding the accused to answer an indictment for the offense charged, he was sent on to the circuit court to await the action of its grand jury; but if of a contrary opinion the prisoner was released, and such discharge operated an entire acquittal, and the action of the county court could be pleaded in bar of any further proceedings against him for the same offense. This feature of our then judicial system was a useless and extravagant burden upon the administration of criminal law, as the finding of the county court frequently encountered the opposition of an impartial grand jury, and they often refused to indict the accused.

But we must not omit to notice our justices of the peace. These, then as now, were necessary evils in our community. Their advice was as much coveted then as now, on "matters great and small." They dispensed justice at the very doors of their neighbors, then as now. They were the creatures of the governor's good will and pleasure, and by and through him, held their commission. The justices, sitting in solemn array, held our county courts, one of their body acting as president through whom the court's opinions were usually delivered. In the vacation of their county courts the justices had jurisdiction of certain petty cases within a limited amount as well also, as of certain minor offenses, involving light punishment.

The practice long obtained with us of appointing the justice oldest in magisterial service to the office of sheriff of the county, ostensibly as a reward for his labors and sacrifices made while acting in a judicial capacity, but if the writer may venture an opinion, he would say that this was a mere resort of the appointing power, to avoid that delicacy which one always feels in discriminating among numerous aspirants for official favor. No doubt, this was the true reason, appreciated at the time, but not made patent.

This system of judicature, which we have just noticed, was not peculiar to the Kanawha valley. It was the system of the whole state of Virginia. Far be it from us to carp at this judicial structure reared by the chief builders of this great republic, and within whose broad apartments was administered the common law of England tempered by that liberal spirit which conceived and established our free institutions.

The supreme court of appeals never held a session in our valley until after the organization of the new state of West Virginia, and it, for the first time, met at the city of Charleston, in the county of Kanawha, in the year 1871, with the following judges present: Honorables Edwin Maxwell, Ralph L. Berkshire and Charles P. T. Moore. Since this there has always been a session of this court held every year at Charleston. Here it holds its largest sittings, and disposes of the largest number of cases. This is in part owing to the fact that the state law library is kept at Charleston, in our valley, which is now quite large, and the number of its volumes is being annually increased. Our attorneys are well situated at this day as to facilities for practice, because of their near proximity to the supreme court and the state library, a convenience unknown to our older lawyers.

When West Virginia, the child of the storm, adopted her constitution she retained the circuit superior court of law and chancery under the more simple name of the circuit court, and substituted in lieu of the county court, the board of supervisors, not vesting it, however, with judicial functions so far as pertained to the trial of causes, this power being conferred solely upon the circuit court. Afterward the old county court was restored by the constitution of 1872, as it had existed under the laws of Virginia, and it thus remained until the amendment of our present constitution in the year 1883, when its powers were modified by a transfer of its jurisdiction to try causes to the circuit court, and a substitution of these commissioners in lieu of the justices of the peace. And so our courts as now organized are not very different from what they were when our ancestors first established them in the beautiful valley to which this history relates.

The members of the Kanawha valley bar have always ranked among the ablest of our state, not only because of a depth of legal learning by which they have so long been characterized, but also for their brilliant powers of oratory as advocates. They have always been bold and diligent searchers after truth in the in the profession of the law, and many are the principals laid down by the courts in cases taken to the general and supreme appellate tribunals from our valley. The early practitioners at our bar encountered many difficulties and were confronted with great embarrassment because of the paucity of text-books and reports of adjudicated cases to serve as guides in the conduct of suits be-

fore courts and juries. In most instances they had to rely upon English text-books and reports. For several years after the organization of our first courts in the valley it was unusual to cite anything in support of legal propositions in the forum except English authorities.

In illustration of the truth of this we here make mention of the case of the Commonwealth vs. John Dandridge, decided as late as 1824, and reported in two Virginia cases, and in the decision of which Judge Lewis Summers of our valley participated as one of the judges who sat in the cause. The opinion runs through thirty-three pages of the printed report, and abounds with learning and research, and contains a citation of forty-seven authorities, of which all are English but four. Judge Summers, in his opinion in the case of the Commonwealth vs. Andrew Campbell, decided in 1822, reported in two Virginia cases, cited but one American decision, all the rest being English.

The active practitioner then did not think of going the rounds of the circuit unaccompanied by that luminous treatise that is put into the hands of all beginners in the study of law—Blackstone's Commentaries. In fact, without this author, he felt that in the court room he was lost. He was entirely without the great works of Parson, Story, Greenleaf, Washburn, Bouvier, Lomax, Tucker and a host of other able writers to whose labors and thought embodied in the form of systematic treatises we now have daily access.

In the great disputes over equity causes the master spirits he consulted were Maddox and Daniels, and when personal dominion as to real estate was in issue, and every nerve was strained to preserve the home of his client, his first and last appeal was to Cruise's Digest of Real Property. He laid the foundation of his knowledge of the profession in Coke's Littleton, whose author was revered because of his devotion to the common law, and who is said to have remarked that if he were asked the common law on any given question, he would be ashamed to look into a book before answering it, but if the question related to the statute law, he would be ashamed to answer without first examining the statute itself.

Our early lawyers here were called upon to practice the common law almost in its purity, as transplanted from the shores of the mother country, and to become able and useful in its practical administration, they sought for its principles at the fountain heads of legal lore.

Indeed, a lawyer's library in the valley then was not complete without Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*, an ancient and useful treatise upon the forms of writs at the common law.

Both general and special demurrers were then in use, the latter being used only as to the form of pleading, and though the

attorney should state substantially a good cause of action, if it were defective in form, he was sure to be met with a special demurrer, and either submit to the delays of an amendment, or a dismissal of his suit. The form book was always on his shelf.

The practitioner of to-day has but little use for the form books if he has an adequate conception of his case, as nothing but matters of substance will be regarded by the courts in the frame of a declaration or statement of the plaintiff's cause of action. Then the lawyer was very particular as to how he concluded a special plea, which must always be in writing, for if he concluded wrong, his plea was fatal, regardless of any good defense which it might contain. Now no conclusion is necessary at all, and should he conclude wrong, the conclusion would be treated as surplusage, and the plea still be good. How easy are the burdens of the lawyers in the valley to-day, compared with those who stood in the halls of justice in its early history, and battled for human rights and human liberty!

Our pioneers here in the broad field of law were hard workers. They illustrated the truth of the saying of an eminent jurist when once asked what one should do to become a profound lawyer, and whose answer was that he should work like a slave and lead the life of a hermit. It may here be observed that the early attorneys in the valley were thoughtful and diligent students of English history, as the surest means of acquainting themselves with the philosophy of the law they were called upon to administer so extensively. They traced the law to its sources among the people who gave it birth. They were almost as familiar with the name and times of Alfred, as displayed in the historic truth, as they were with the name and achievements of Washington. But they did not stop here. They searched for the hidden reason of the common law in its own peculiar history, and the eye did not dim nor the interest languish, as these students pored over its pages under the faint light of a midnight taper. Of how many of our lawyers can this be said to-day?

But our old attorneys, those who were active in the early history of our courts in the valley, were not only diligent, they were systematic students. And so far as the writer has been able to observe they pursued their studies even late in life, and after the infirmity of age retired them from active practice they did not lose their interest in the perusal of law books and those of a kindred nature, so well had their habits of thought been directed during the years of a more vigorous life.

The first time, so far as the record discloses, in which our valley made its appearance at the bar of the general court, was in the year 1820, the cause having been adjourned from the superior court of Kanawha county, the decision of which is found in volume two of the Virginia Cases.

This court was organized in 1777, and consisted of five judges, and its jurisdiction was then general over all persons, and in causes, matters or things at common law, whether brought before them by original process or by appeal; but in 1788 district courts were organized and judges assigned to them, and of these judges three could hold a general court. In 1809 the district courts were abolished and the circuit or superior courts of law in each county were substituted in their stead. The circuit judges now held the general court, and in 1820, when it decided the first case from our valley it was composed of fifteen judges.

The first case ever carried to the supreme court of appeals from the Kanawha valley was that of Bream vs. Cooper's heirs, from Mason county, reported in volume five of Munford's Reports. This was in the year 1815 and twenty-six years after the organization of the first courts as established in our section. It may not be inappropriate to here remark that the justly celebrated William Wit appeared in the appellate court in this cause for the appellees, and the decision of the court below was also affirmed. To the practitioner of our valley to-day this will appear remarkable in contrast with the number of appeals taken from the circuit courts in our time. There are more cases reviewed now from our section in one year by the court of last resort than were passed on from the valley by the supreme court in all its history preceding the late war.

We are at a loss how to account for this unless upon these grounds: The care with which the attorneys engaged on either side prepared their cases, and the pains taken by them to avoid the errors incident to all trials, and the long distance of the court of appeals from the place of original jurisdiction; the many new and curious questions to which our rapid growth and marvelous progress and development have given rise, and the magnitude of business with which our circuit courts of to-day are burdened.

Our courts and lawyers in the valley in *ante bellum* days had comparatively little practical acquaintance with the law relating to corporations. Indeed, this observation may well be applied to the whole state of Virginia. When these organizations made their appearance in our valley the attorney found himself in an almost entirely new field which he felt called upon to explore, and at every step found himself confronted with legal problems which had not yet been solved by our courts. Hence, in nearly all these cases, he appealed to the court of *dernier* resort for its judgment. No degree of learning or ability, however high, could relieve from error both in *nisi prius* judge and lawyer, in a practice so new and untried as this. A Marshall or a Wirt would have become timid and doubtful. This may be well illustrated by the actual experience of this latter eminent jurist.

For many years he practiced law in the city of Richmond, and achieved a justly enviable reputation in his profession for profundity of knowledge and power of oratory. He afterward located in Norfolk so as to gain a better remuneration which the commerce of that city then offered to the talented lawyer. Now he found himself in a different character of legal occupation than that which he had left in Richmond—the labor and difficulties incident to commercial litigation; and he himself bears testimony to the fact that this change required of him almost the learning anew of his profession. When these reasons are carefully weighed we have no great occasion for surprise at an increased, and ever increasing, representation at the bar of the supreme court.

But the signal acquiescence of lawyers and suitors in our valley, in the judgments and opinions of our old-time judges, is a flattering assurance of their integrity and ability and is a part of our judicial history upon which we and our posterity may well be congratulated.

While this new class of litigation has thus found its way into our valley, another kind has almost disappeared which was a fruitful cause of disquietude to our citizens, and a source of lucrative practice to the attorneys. I refer to suits brought to settle land titles. These are now matters of rare occurrence. The laws enacted since the war have placed the muniments of these titles almost entirely beyond the pale of judicial controversy, and our people now deal in transactions of this character with little doubt or suspicion touching the validity of their purchases. Indeed, this is true of nearly all portions of our state. In former days we had in our valley several lawyers who were accounted fair specialists in the trial of causes involving the title to real estate, and varied and intricate were the questions arising in such contests. A “land-lawyer,” as such, of the valley, is now a thing of the past. His occupation is gone.

During the late Civil war our valley was sorely distracted by the presence, much of the time, at different points, of hostile armies and bands of troops, by reason of which our citizens alternated between suspense and alarm, and this was a great hindrance to the calm and satisfactory administration of civil justice. Indeed, the military took possession of our court-houses more than once.

However, the few lawyers who remained at home in the practice reaped a rich harvest because of the enormity of the fees then demanded and cheerfully paid. Those of our citizens who had gone south because of their opinions were treated as non-residents and their property became the subject of attachment, and suits of this character were frequently instituted against

them by resident attorneys, and their property was thus, in a great measure, sacrificed.

When the war ceased many of our ablest lawyers were unable to re-enter upon the practice of their profession because of their inability to subscribe to what is known as the "test oath." This required the affiant to state that he had not voluntarily borne arms against the United States, or adhered to its enemies, giving them aid or comfort, or sympathized with the rebellion. Many of our attorneys, upon their return home, found themselves not only crushed in spirit and almost impoverished in means, but really stripped of an occupation upon which they relied to repair their shattered fortunes, brought about by the bitterness of a merciless civil war, and into which they were thrown by reason of circumstances over which they had no control.

The law referred to, was enacted by the legislature of our state in the year 1863, and applied to any person elected or appointed to any office of trust, civil or military, within the state, and the inferior courts held that the language of the statute embraced attorneys at law.

This construction obtained until Hons. Charles J. Faulkner of the county of Berkeley, and William A. Quarrier, of the county Kanawha, put the matter to supreme test. Mr. Quarrier applied to the supreme court of appeals in the month of January of the year 1866, upon being refused admission to the bar by the circuit court of his own county, to have the court's action reviewed upon his motion to qualify, and after full argument, the action of the court below was reversed, and Mr. Quarrier's motion sustained. Judge James H. Brown, of our valley, was then on our supreme court bench, and he it was, as president of the court, who rendered the decision. Mr. Quarrier had been identified with the cause of secession from its inception, but surrendered under Gen. Lee, with the army of Northern Virginia and took the oath of amnesty and pardon provided in the proclamation of President Johnson.

Until the decision in "ex-parte Quarrier" was rendered, it was contended by the supporters of this law that an attorney at law was an "officer," and as such, was embraced in its meaning and intendment, and the attorney general of the state so argued. But this position by a cause of reason and argument, at once convincing and unanswerable, was shown to be untenable.

The lawyers of our state, but none more so than those of our valley, debarred from the pursuit of their profession, because of their alleged disabilities, hailed these decisions, one of which was in behalf of a lawyer of their immediate section, as a harbinger of better things and despair gave way to hope, the sombre

veil of misfortune seemed lifted and they thought the dawn of brighter days, had actually appeared. But their joy was short lived. Their hopes were soon to be shattered and they were destined to be hidden beneath the pall of a deeper gloom than that from which they had so recently emerged.

On the 14th day of February, 1866 (a desecration of St. Valentine's day) our legislature passed what is known as the "Attorney's Test Oath." This provided that no one should be permitted to practice law who could not make oath that he had not voluntarily borne arms against the United States government or against the state of West Virginia, and that he had not given aid or comfort to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto by countenancing, counseling or encouraging them in the same; that he had not exercised or attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever under any authority in hostility to the United States or the state of West Virginia.

This comprehensive statute now stood between nearly one-half of the lawyers of the Kanawha valley, at least the older and more experienced ones, and the pursuit of their calling.

Hon. Samuel A. Miller, then a resident lawyer of our valley, along with other attorneys of the state, applied to the supreme court, in session at Wheeling in the year 1867, to be permitted to qualify in the courts notwithstanding this statute, contesting in their application the constitutionality of this law.

But after an elaborate and most rigid argument the court delivered an opinion upholding the validity of this enactment of the legislature. So all our lawyers in the valley, as well as elsewhere in the state, who had been identified in any manner whatsoever with the cause of secession, were unable to do anything in the courts until the adoption of our new constitution in 1872. The hardships resultant upon these statutes led to the incorporation in our "Bill of Rights" of section 11, article 3, of our new constitution.

The Kanawha valley first appeared in the supreme court of appeals of the new state of West Virginia at the July term, 1865, in the case of Wyatt vs. Morris et al., reported in the second volume of the West Virginia reports. This was a motion to dismiss an appeal as improvidently awarded and the court overruled the motion without assigning a single reason for its judgment. This can no longer be done in our practice by virtue of a provision in our new constitution requiring the court to give the reason in writing for every opinion it delivers. Since the formation of the new state our section has been represented at nearly every term of our supreme court and varied and numerous are the doctrines that have been settled for our people in these appeal causes taken from this valley to the appellate court.

All of the four counties in our portion of the state have been

thus represented time and time and again; but of all of the important appeals thus carried to the court of last resort, we deem none comparable to that of Radford vs. Caswill, from the county of Fayette, reported in the thirteenth volume of the West Virginia reports. The opinion in this case was delivered by Judge Green, runs through 109 pages of the printed report and contains 267 citations of authorities and was concurred in by all the judges present when the decision was pronounced. It is now the leading case in our state upon the contract rights and obligations of a married woman. The second and third sections of our act of the legislature relating to married women, except the proviso contained in the last clause of section three, was taken from the New York code, and as we adopted their statute, we are presumed to have adopted the construction which the courts of that state placed upon it.

As we remember and understand the decisions of this state upon this statute, they hold that to charge the separate estate of a married woman with a debt it must have been not only contracted with reference to her separate property, but must have been for the benefit of such estate. Prior to this decision of Judge Green's our statute was so understood by the members of the bar and was so construed by our circuit judges. Under the law laid down by our supreme court in this case, "the debts of a married woman, for which her separate estate is liable, are such as arise out of any transaction, out of which a debt would have arisen if she were a *feme sole*" and it is immaterial whether her separate estate be benefited by such debt or not.

So, hitherto, the right to subject the *corpus* of a married woman's real estate to the satisfaction of her debts was not seriously called in question so far as the author has been able to ascertain. But this leading case, carried, as we have seen, from our valley, lays down the doctrine that the estate in fee of a married woman cannot be sold for debt except by mortgage or deed of trust executed after an examination taken privily and apart from her husband. And for a debt not thus secured, except it be for the purchase money for which a lien is reserved on the face of the deed, nothing can be subjected to its payment except her separate personality and the rents, issues and profits of her real estate during her coverture. This decision operated a radical change in her contract relations touching her separate estate.

The reasoning of the court in this case tends to show that the debt of a married woman, not secured by a specific charge upon her separate estate, cannot be enforced after the disability of her coverture terminates. The reasoning of the court as found in the cause of its opinion, tends also to establish the strange doctrine under our statute, that before a married

woman can make a valid will of her separate real estate it must be with the concurrence of her husband and after an examination of her privily, and apart from him, in the same manner prescribed in our statute for the sale or conveyance of her land.

While these last doctrines discovered in the court's opinion, are not expressly decided by this case to be the law of this state, yet it is sufficient to caution one in dealing with a married woman upon credit to take no obligation from her not secured by a specific lien upon her separate estate, unless she have sufficient personal property to discharge the debt, until our supreme court decides the doctrine to be otherwise; and also in preparing a will of a *feme covert* that it should only be executed in conjunction with her husband, under an observance of all the formalities attending the execution of a deed for the conveyance of her separate real estate.

So, when this case is considered in all its phases and bearings, there has been none decided of more importance to our people and to the profession at large than Radford vs. Caswill, arising in the litigation of the valley of the Great Kanawha.

Of the judges who sat regularly upon the supreme bench four reside in our valley. They are Honorables James H. Brown, Okey Johnson, Charles P. T. Moore and John W. English, the two former of whom are now in the active practice of their profession, and the latter resides on his farm in Mason county and is engaged extensively in agricultural pursuits, and Judge English is now on the supreme bench, having ten years yet to serve.

Judge Johnson studied law in Harvard university, taking the full course in the curriculum of that school, graduating from that great institution of learning in the month of July in the year 1858. Few lawyers practicing in our state have had such eminent instructors in their preparations for the bar as Judge Johnson. At the time he attended the law school of Harvard Theopolus Parsons, the author of Parsons on Contracts, Emory Washburn, the author of Washburn on the Law of Real Property, and Hon. Joel Parker, ex-chief justice of New Hampshire, were the professors there. Judge Johnson came to the bar well equipped for the discharge of the onerous duties of his profession. He was admitted to practice at the Suffolk bar (Boston) the same year in which he graduated, and in December of that year he was admitted to the Parkersburg bar, in Virginia, now West Virginia. He was actively engaged in the pursuit of his profession in Wood and adjoining counties until his promotion to the supreme bench, to which he was elected in the fall of 1876, by a majority of 17,000 votes over his competitor, the Hon. W. H. H. Flick, late U. S. district attorney for the district of West Virginia, and entered upon the term of his office January

the 1st, 1877, and served for the full period of twelve years. Of this time he served seven and one-half years as president of the court, having been elected twice by his associates to this important position, an honor that has never occurred with any other judge since the organization of our supreme court in this state. The judges who served with him at different times during his official term were: Green, Haymond, Moore, Patton, Snyder and Woods.

The opinions delivered by Judge Johnson in our supreme court, will number about 300, and are contained in our reports from volume ten to the thirty-first, inclusive, in all twenty-two volumes. The first opinion delivered by him is that in *Lockhart and Ireland vs. Beckley*, reported in volume ten of our reports, and relates to fraudulent conveyances, and is cited oftener than any other decision made by him, and its doctrines have been incorporated into our later text-books treating upon the subject to which this opinion relates. He lays down the rule in this case for determining fraud in these words: "Fraud is to be legally inferred from the facts and circumstances of the case, when these facts and circumstances are such as to lead a reasonable man to the conclusion that the conveyance was made with the intent to defraud creditors."

The rule for detecting the cunning devices of fraud as thus laid down was new, and is a safe principle to follow in practice. Judge Johnson also laid down another just doctrine touching the question of fraud, and this is, that when a conveyance is made to a woman who is married at the time, and such conveyance is assailed as fraudulent as to creditors of her husband, the burden rests upon her to show that it was purchased with means other than those of her husband. The principles governing cases of fraud have been construed more rigidly by the West Virginia court against the fraudulent grantor, than in most of the other states, and Judge Johnson had much to do in bringing about this action of the court. He decided many cases involving constitutional questions, and in every instance wherein his opinion has been reviewed, his judgment has been sustained. His opinion holding the provisions in our state constitution, protecting the property of returned Confederates from seizure under the "War Trespass" judgments, not in contravention of the constitution of the United States, was upheld by the supreme court of the United States, in the case of *Ireland vs. Williams*, reported in volume 131, of the U. S. reports. His decision in which he held that the legislature could not exempt any species of property from taxation unless it came within the exemption clause of that instrument, was also affirmed by the supreme court of the United States.

His decision, maintaining the court's power to punish for contempt any one assaulting a court through the columns of a news-

paper, has been cited and approved and favorably commented on by the supreme courts of the states of Ohio and Colorado, and is generally conceded to announce a sound doctrine of the law. Judge Johnson has rendered numerous decisions upon the following interesting and important subjects: eminent domain, wills, nuisances, municipal corporations, *stare decisis*, mandamus, criminal law, including some valuable opinions touching the doctrine of "self-defense." We should like to direct specific attention to some of the nice and intricate questions settled by Judge Johnson while on the supreme bench, but lack of space forbids.

As to text-books he thinks Cooley on Constitutional Limitations the greatest book ever written, and that Dillon on Municipal Corporations is a great work. Of our various state reports he prefers those of Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan and the United States supreme court. He also holds the American Decisions in high estimate because of the very valuable notes of Judge Freeman, which they contain. He looks upon the national reporter system, conducted under the auspices of the West Publishing Co., as the most gigantic scheme ever devised for the benefit and convenience of the profession of law.

Judge Johnson, upon his retirement from the bench, at once entered upon a good practice and his business is daily increasing. He is retained in some of the most important cases now pending in our supreme court. His familiarity with reported cases is as great, if not greater, than that of any other lawyer in the state. In his knowledge of West Virginia cases he is quite at home.

The first lawyer elected to a superior judgeship from the valley of the Great Kanawha was Hon. James H. Brown, of Charleston. Judge Brown was born on his grandfather's farm, now the site of the city of Huntington, in the year 1818, and graduated from Augusta college, Kentucky, in the year 1840. Some of his classmates afterward became able jurists.

On his return home from school, Judge Brown devoted the fall and winter to the reading of history and general literature; particularly, Hume's, Smollett's, Bassett's and Weller's histories of England; Russell's Modern Europe; Gibbon's Rome; the history of Greece, of the American Revolution and of the United States; Marshall's Life of Washington; Cooper's Naval History; Plutarch's Lives; The Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, of Andrew Jackson and of Daniel Boone; Ecclesiastical history and the Bible. He had previously read Rollin's Ancient History and the most prominent of the Greek, Latin English, French and Italian poets. Thus his literary acquirements were such as to well fit him to enter upon the study of a profession and especially that of the law. He studied law in the office of John Laidley and was licensed to practice in the fall of 1842. He was a close student, had a good instructor and was

well read in his profession and was commended for his attainments by the learned judges, Fry, Thompson and Smith who examined and licensed him to practice.

Judge Brown argued his first case in court before Hon. Lewis Summers, of whom a sketch appears further on in this work. In the fall of 1848 he moved from Cabell county to the county of Kanawha, and located in Charleston, where he continued to pursue his vocation, extending his practice to the surrounding counties of Putnam, Mason, Jackson, Roane, Clay, Nicholas, Fayette, Raleigh, Greenbrier, Wyoming, Logan, Wayne, Boone, Cabell and Lincoln, the supreme courts of appeals of Virginia and West Virginia, the United States districts courts and the supreme court of the United States and in special cases, in the courts of Lawrence and Gallia counties in the state of Ohio.

In the year 1861, he was elected to succeed Judge David McComas on the circuit court bench, all the counties in the valley except Fayette being a part of the circuit. He met the emergency and held court in all the counties of his circuit, notwithstanding the pendency of the civil war and imminent peril to himself and the actual capture of the officers of courts of records at different times in every county of the circuit. The records were carried to Richmond and kept as evidence to be used against him if captured during the war by the Confederates.

At the election held under the first constitution of West Virginia, and the ordinance submitting it to the vote of the people, he was elected to the bench of the supreme court of appeals with Hons. William A. Harrison, of Harrison county, and Ralph L. Berkshire, of Mononghalia county as his associate judges. And after the death of Judge Harrison and the election of Hon. Edwin Maxwell, Judge Brown was chosen the president of the court.

The first opinion of our new supreme court of West Virginia, was delivered by Judge Brown, at the January term, 1864, in the case of Gorman vs. Steed, reported in volume one, of the West Virginia reports. This decision has since been cited, and approved by our supreme court, and among other matters which it decides, is that "the court of appeals has jurisdiction in cases of unlawful entry, and detainer where possession only is the cause of controversy; possession being such an element of title and boundary to land, as to come within the provision of the constitution, granting jurisdiction to the court."

West Virginia, then the youngest state in the Union, was first called upon through the supreme court to determine the question whether a state has a constitutional right to secede from the Union. It was settled in the negative, in the case of Hood et al vs. Maxwell, reported in volume one of the West Virginia reports, and the opinion settling this *questio vexata* was delivered by

Judge Brown of the Kanawha valley in January, 1866 — less than one year after the surrender of Gen. Lee. The logic of this decision is that the seceding states were never out of the Union, and is in accord with the attitude of Pres. Johnson toward them when called upon to discharge the grave duties and responsibilities of the presidency of the United States after the restoration of peace between the states.

Judge Brown's opinions appear in the first four volumes of our reports and extend through a period of six years, from January, 1864, to January, 1870, and he delivered more opinions than any other judge during his term of office. On the bench he was courteous, affable and kind, attentive to the argument of counsel, and firm and resolute to uphold the authority and dignity of the court. He is a staunch member of the Presbyterian church, illustrating the words of Sir William Blackstone, that the lawyer to become a Talbot, a Hyde, or a Hale, should be an upright and fervent Christian, and exploding, too, the common error that there cannot be a simultaneous practice of law and the precepts of our holy religion by one and the same person.

Of the text books of the profession, Judge Brown preferred Chitty and Story's Pleading, Starkie and Greenleaf's Evidence, Tucker and Kent's Commentaries and Robinson's Practice, and of the reports he preferred those of West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania.

The second person elected to our supreme court from the valley of the Great Kanawha was Hon. C. P. T. Moore, of Mason county, being chosen to this office in the fall of 1872, and entering upon his official duties January the 1st, 1873. He was the regular nominee of the democratic party by acclamation, and so popular was he with the masses that the republicans declined to name any person to compete with him in the election, but nominated him also by acclamation—something entirely without a parallel in the whole history of our judiciary in the state. He was educated at Jefferson college in Pennsylvania, and Union college in New York, graduating from the latter institution in the year 1853. He studied law at the university of Virginia and graduated there in 1856, and in the same year he located at Point Pleasant, Virginia (now West Virginia) in the practice of his profession, and in the fall of that year he tried his first case before the late Hon. George W. Summers. It was the defense of a man charged with arson, and it was generally believed that he was guilty and would be convicted, and though the state was ably represented, young Moore conducted his client's cause with such consummate skill and ability, and his argument to the jury so clear and powerful and pathetic, that the prisoner was acquitted. His conduct of this, his first cause, was long a theme of conversation among those who witnessed the

trial, and he at once stepped into a fine practice. He has, on more than one occasion, remarked to the writer that he has never surpassed his maiden speech delivered in the defense of his first client. He seems to have acted in the belief that this first appearance on the criminal side of the court was the tide in his professional career, and happily he took it at the flood.

He afterward, at different times, formed partnerships with Nicholas Fitzhugh, James H. Couch and William H. Tomlinson, Esqs., his last partner having previously read law with him and with whom he remained until his promotion to the supreme bench. Judge Moore drew the long term of office, being for the full term of twelve years, and he remained a part of the court until his resignation, which was accepted in the year 1881. He delivered 107 opinions, and they are found in volumes five to eighteen inclusive of our reports. He was one of the most conscientious judges that ever graced the bench of our supreme court. Like Chief Justice Hale, one of the most illustrious of English jurists, he never entered upon the consideration of an important case without first invoking the aid of the Supreme Judge of all mankind, to assist him in coming to the proper and righteous decision. He preferred equity to law practice, for the reason, as assigned by himself, that in law cases he was frequently called upon to prosecute his client's interests against what conscience dictated. He regards Tucker's Commentaries, Davis's Criminal Law and Robinson's (Old) Practice as the great landmarks of Virginia law. He was very careful and painstaking in the preparation of his opinions, examining closely the text-books and reports, frequently sitting up the whole night in prosecuting the work of his investigations. He believed in arguing causes to juries, and thinks the successful lawyer must never omit this important feature in the trial of his client's cases. In his practice he always demanded the attention of courts and juries, and in illustration of this the following anecdote is related of him: During an argument before a jury in some cause he made an abrupt pause, with his face turned toward the judge (one of the jurors dozing at the time), when the judge inquired the cause of his sudden stoppage, and in response Moore said, in a loud emphatic tone of voice: "There are eleven good and true men on this jury and a thing," pointing to the man who had now broken his doze, "and I would like to have twelve men to try my client's case." It is useless to observe that the stupid man indulged in no more light slumbers during the time he had sat upon the trial of that case. We must not omit to state that Judge Moore was elected to the supreme bench in 1870 under the old constitution, and took office in January, 1871, and hence was one of the supreme court when re-elected in 1872 under the new constitution.

The fourth and last attorney promoted to the supreme court

is Hon. John W. English, of Mason county, who was elected in the fall of 1888 and entered upon the duties of his office on the 1st day of January, 1889. He obtained a fine classical education before entering upon the study of the law, which gives signal advantages to the one thus equipped, over him who is less fortunate in this respect. Though collegiate training should be the aim of every young man who aspires to true success in the practice of law. He studied his profession with the late Hon. Henry J. Fisher, who was a member of the bar of our valley for sixty years, and one of the greatest, if not the greatest (*me jndice*) lawyer in his day west of the Allegheny mountains. So Judge English's opportunities for fitting himself for the bar were as good as could be desired and he made good use of them. He was licensed to practice his profession in the year 185-, and entered at once upon the active practice of the law in the town of Pt. Pleasant, extending the labors of his profession to the adjoining counties of Jackson and Putnam and to the supreme court of appeals, his first appearance in this court being in the year 1873 in the case of Cross vs. Hopkins et al., reported in volume six of the West Virginia reports, and after that time he commanded no inconsiderable business in our supreme court. He held no office whatever until his election to the one he now fills. He was at all times wholly devoted to his profession, ever acting upon the adage that "the law is a jealous mistress."

He was, during his entire career at the bar, a cautious and laborious lawyer, loth to give hurried, off-hand opinions, did not do so in cases of any magnitude or importance. He was always a close and diligent student, and never neglected a case entrusted to his care. His preference was for the equity side of the court, and in this branch of the law he is quite in his element, though he had an extensive business on the law side as well. Of the text writers he prefers Blackstone's Commentaries, Kent's Commentaries, Pomeroy's Equity Jurisprudence, Robinson's (Old) Practice and Wharton's Criminal Law, and of the reports, West Virginia, Virginia, United States supreme court, Massachusetts and New York. His first opinion on the supreme bench was delivered in February, 1889, in the case of Coffman vs. Hedrick, found in volume thirty-two of the West Virginia reports. The decision in this case relates to the important subject of wills, and it is given in a sound and well considered opinion. Judge English has prepared a large number of opinions during his two years of service on the bench, many of which relate to important questions, to which we would like to direct the reader's attention, but the space allotted to us forbids.

We are informed that Judge English should be accredited with an earlier appearance in the supreme court than that shown in volume six of our reports, as he was of counsel for the

defendant in the case of Yamger vs. The State, reported in volume two of the reports and prepared a brief in the cause, but the reporter failed to note his connection with this important criminal case.

The history of our district and circuit courts, as we have seen, begins in the year 1789, and our information touching the life and character of our judges and lawyers prior to the year 1819, is very meager and unsatisfactory, so that we can give no full sketch of them — such as we gladly would do — were the proper data at our command.

In Mr. Atkinson's history of Kanawha county, the author quoting from the recollections of Joel Ruffner, an old citizen of our valley, we find this statement: "The first judge who presided in this circuit, whom I can remember, was Judge Coalter. At that time the counties were large. His circuit extended from Botetourt county to what is now Big Sandy river. The inhabitants of this country were generally unlettered, rough mountaineers, and came from a great distance to attend court as witnesses, jurors and suitors. Court days were important occasions, and were only excelled by general musters and camp meetings."

It may be well here to note that from the foundation of the commonwealth of Virginia, down to the year 1831, the administration of law and equity was wholly separate, except in the county and corporation courts. These two jurisdictions were committed to different judges. In 1802 three chancery districts were created, and Staunton was the seat of one of these for a territory extending west as far as the Ohio river, embracing, of course, the Kanawha valley, and the first chancellor under this re-organization of the court was John Brown, who served until 1814, and he was succeeded by Allan Taylor, by whom the office was held until the adoption of the new constitution, in 1831, when both jurisdictions were united in the judge of the circuit court. Upon the organization of Mason county it was made a part of the Kanawha district, and upon the abolition of the district courts it was placed in the Kanawha circuit, where it has since remained, without any change so far, as the writer is advised. Upon the organization of Fayette county its courts were made a part of the Harrison county circuit, and so remained until the year 1866, when it was made a part of the Kanawha circuit, and this arrangement continued until January 1, 1873, when Fayette was again joined to another circuit.

Hon. Lewis Summers became the judge of the Kanawha circuit, in 1819, and continued to hold this office until his death which occurred in the year 1843. Lewis Summers began the battle of life early, at least so far as matters of politics were concerned, taking part in the great contest in the year 1800, that

resulted in the promotion of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency of the United States. He moved to Gallipolis, in the state of Ohio, in 1808, and entered upon the practice of the law, for which he had previously thoroughly prepared himself. We must here remark, to show the high esteem in which he was held by the people of his new home, that soon after locating there he was sent to the state senate of Ohio, and served there for several terms with marked distinction. In 1814 he moved to Charleston, Kanawha county, and took up his permanent residence there. After representing the people of this county for two successive terms in the general assembly of Virginia, he was chosen one of the judges of the general court and judge of the Kanawha judicial circuit. This occurred in the year 1819, and he continued in this office until 1843, as above stated. He was an able and deliberate judge, examining all cases submitted to him for decision with minute care and attention. He did not rely upon the loose statements of counsel in the cause, to learn what the record itself contained, but he read the whole file himself so as to know and to weigh for himself the matters it embraced. He was a man of unusual common sense; and for untiring industry and adaptation to judicial labors and requirements, our valley has had few men who have sat upon the circuit bench that have been his superior.

The judges who preceded Lewis Summers in the valley were John Coalter, who held the office until 1811 when he was promoted to the bench of the supreme court of appeals, and he was succeeded by Hon. James Allen, who was the immediate predecessor of Judge Summers.

Our circuit court bench was occupied from the middle of the year 1843 until the early part of 1852, by Hon. David McComas, than whom a more brilliant or able jurist never wore the ermine in our valley. All who remember him as a judge speak in the very highest commendation of his superb qualities as a lawyer and a judge.

He was a great student of the constitution and attached to the school of Jefferson and Madison, adhering to a strict construction of that instrument. In 1832, as we are informed, he delivered a speech in the legislature of Virginia replete with eloquence and logic on the rights of the states under the Federal constitution, and took the stand of a state's right to secede from the Union, and upholding the views of Calhoun and his followers in the course pursued by them that year in the state of South Carolina. He who presided in the courts of the Kanawha circuit from the latter part of 1852 to the year 1859 inclusive, was the Hon. George W. Summers, of whom Mr. Atkinson, in his History of Kanawha, has this to say: "In my humble opinion

George William Summers was the most gifted man that Virginia ever produced." He was educated in the Ohio university at Athens, graduating there in the year 1826, studied law with his brother, Hon. Lewis Summers, and was admitted to the bar in 1827. Besides holding many offices of trust and importance, including two terms in congress, Mr. Summers was actively engaged in the practice of the law before his call to the bench. It must be conceded on all sides that he was the most powerful and eloquent advocate that has ever been seen in our valley, if not in the states of the two Virginias. He was, at least the Lord Brougham of the Kanawha valley. Like the latter, he was a great advocate; like him, he was equally great and influential as a statesman, and like this eminent Englishman, his information was varied and abundant. He was a man of beautiful imagery which headmirably used in his forensic oratory, and which lent a delightful charm to his eloquence. The habits of the bench were uncongenial to him, and after six years of hard service as a judge he resigned his office, the term of which did not expire for two years thereafter. Upon his retirement from the judicial office he resumed his law practice, in which he continued until a short time prior to his death, which occurred in the fall of 1868, over forty-one years after his admission to the bar. He was the first prosecuting attorney of Putnam county. He was an exemplary Christian, and never allowed professional labors to interfere with his sincere and pious devotions to his Savior and his God.

During the years 1859 and 1860, David McComas again presided in our courts, and in 1861, Hon. Evermont Ward, and in 1862 and 1863, Hon. James H. Brown.

Judge Ward was the last of the three judges who signed the law license of the author of this sketch and his examination was restricted to constitutional questions, and it is said that he was much devoted to the study of this branch of our profession. His advice to the writer was to locate in a city, and concentrate all of his energies upon the law and success would surely wait upon him. He advised against the division of time between law and anything else, and compared such a dissipation of time and energy to the fall of rain, remarking that so long as the tiny drops fell over a broad surface their power was not felt, but when collected into one body, their force became mighty and called attention to these gathered drops in the swollen streams and the high waters in the river over-leaping its banks. His suggestion reminded us of what Charles Sumner says of Sir William Follet. This distinguished American writes: "He seems to have a genius for law. When it comes to stating a law point and its argument, he is at home and goes on without let or hindrance or any apparent exertion. His business is immense; and he re-

ceives many briefs which he hardly reads before he rises in court. His income is probably fifteen thousand pounds. * * * * *

He has little or no information outside of his profession." From 1863 to 1866, inclusive, Hon. Daniel Polsley, of Mason county, held our courts, except those in Fayette, and no doubt, would have continued in this office but for his election to congress. He entered upon his legal studies under the direction of the late Hon. Philip Doddridge, whose niece he afterward married, and finished his law course at the Winchester law school, carried on under the auspices of Judge Tucker, the author of Tucker's Commentaries, and long a president of the Virginia court of appeals. He first practiced his profession at Wellsburg, in Brooke county, Va. (now W. Va.). He devoted himself to journalism, from the year 1833 to 1845, and quitting this work, he moved to Mason county, and engaged in agricultural pursuits until 1861, when the state of public affairs called him into law again and also into politics.

Daniel Polsley was a good lawyer and an upright and impartial judge. He was uniformly fair to all the attorneys who practiced before him, and it is said that no one ever asked for a bill of exceptions to any of his rulings, that he did not get it—complete and satisfactory—one of the great virtues of a *nisi prius* judge. Upon his retirement from congressional life, he devoted himself to the practice of law until he became so feeble from loss of health, that he could no longer perform the labor of his profession.

Judge Polsley studied the law as a science, administered it as such, and so practiced it. This perhaps, was due, in a great measure, to the fact that his first and early study of it was directed by eminent jurists, who had studied and practiced it in the same way themselves.

The judge who presided in our circuit courts in the four counties of Fayette, Kanawha, Putnam and Mason, from the spring of 1867 to January, 1873, was Hon. James W. Hoge, who had been in his profession about seventeen years when he came to the bench. He was appointed by the governor of the state to fill the vacancy in the office of judge occasioned by the resignation of Hon. Daniel Polsley, who in 1866, was elected to congress. Judge Hoge resided at Winfield, in Putnam county, at the time of his appointment, where he had practiced law, as well also as in the counties of Mason and Kanawha, from about the year 1852, the year in which he moved from the eastern part of Virginia, and took up his residence in the Kanawha valley, where he ever after made his home until the time of his death, which occurred at his residence in his adopted town, in the month of August, 1882.

At the next election, which occurred in 1868, Judge Hoge was

electd to the judgeship for the full term of six years, but owing to the adoption of our new constitution in 1872, by which the circuits were re-organized and re-arranged, the judge's official term expired one year sooner than it otherwise would have done, and he retired from the judgeship on December 31, 1872, and was succeeded in January, 1873, by Hon. Joseph Smith having been defeated by this gentleman at the fall election held in that year.

Judge Hoge was an able lawyer, possessing an analytical and discriminating mind, a forcible and eloquent advocate; and as a judge he was upright, careful, impartial and courteous to all in any wise connected with his courts or interested in their business. He was a man of great kindness and forbearance in his professional life, both before his accession to the bench, as well also as after his retirement therefrom. He was thoroughly grounded in a knowledge of the principles of the law, and familiar with the decisions of the courts. He was a man of great power before a jury, and happy was the litigant who secured his services in a case to be determined by this mode of trial. He was collected and dignified in his conduct of suits, and not easily embarrassed in the trial of causes. He was recognized by the legal profession as one of the best *nisi prius* judges in the state. He was sustained oftener in the supreme court of appeals according to the number of cases carried to that tribunal from his decisions than any other judge in the state. He was highly loved and greatly trusted by his acquaintances and friends, and looked upon the confidence reposed in him by others as ever too sacred to abuse. He was, on more than one occasion, elected to the office of prosecuting attorney of his adopted county of Putnam, an office whose duties he discharged with untiring fidelity and marked ability.

When the great state of Virginia called a convention of her representative men in the ever-memorable year of 1861, to determine the momentous question whether she would remain in the Union or secede therefrom, Judge Hoge was chosen by the people of Putnam to speak and act for them in that historic body, and true to his conviction, he voted that his native state should join her many other sisters in the formation of a new confederacy. This course of his certainly reflected the sentiments and opinions of his bold and determined constituency.

Upon the adoption of our new constitution in the year 1872, the county of Fayette was stricken from the Kanawha valley circuit and joined to another, and in lieu of this territory the counties of Jackson and Roane were added to the circuit and, as we have seen, Hon. Joseph Smith became the judge in the greater portion of the valley from January 1, 1873, until the 31st day of December, 1881. Judge Smith was educated at the Ohio university and came to the bar some time between 1840 and 1850,

and while in active practice, was a very successful lawyer, being signally so before juries. His manner, as an advocate, was plain and free from bombast, conversational, rather than rhetorical; but plausible and captivating. He was a very successful criminal lawyer. He was not a close student of the law, never manifesting that taste for his profession that is a *sine qua non* to an accurate and profound knowledge of the law; and but for the lack of this fondness and the *lucubrationes viginti annorum* spoken of by Sir William Blackstone, Judge Smith would have been a most eminent jurist, as he was a man of great native strength of mind, and chose rather to depend upon his broad common sense, than upon laborious, pains-taking research. He was very indifferent to matters of form, looking to substance alone, carrying his disregard of things merely formal into the very orthography of his pleadings. He took no pride in the niceties and fine distinctions of the law. He abhorred prolixity either in argument or drafts of pleading. In his criticisms once upon a bill filed for a divorce, he remarked, with some degree of earnestness, that it contained far too many redundant allegations that could have been dispensed with, and, upon the same occasion, observed that such a bill could well be drawn upon a single page of fools-cap. He did not believe in reading many law books. The three text writers to which he attached most importance and held in highest estimate, are Tucker's Commentaries, Robinson's (Old) Practice and Davis' Criminal Law. He often remarked that the close student of these treatises must become a good lawyer. Of course this observation applied to those desiring to practice law in the courts of Virginia or West Virginia.

As a judge Joseph Smith was upright and impartial. He often said, in speaking of appeals taken from his decisions, that if he was wrong he would rather be reversed than to be affirmed. He was uniformly kind and courteous to the members of the bar and the officers of his court. At the close of his official term he engaged in the hotel business in Ripley, Jackson county, W. Va., where he resided, and in which he continued until his death, which occurred in 1888. He appeared in court but a few times after his retirement from office, and then only in important cases. Too much cannot be said of Judge Smith, when he was in active practice, of his powers as an advocate. He was indeed, at times, an eloquent speaker. Judge Smith went south during the war where he practiced his profession, but returned to his home in Jackson county after the restoration of peace between the states.

The present judge of the counties of Kanawha, Putnam and Mason, is Hon. F. A. Guthrie, who is the successor of Judge Joseph Smith, having been elected in the fall of 1880, taking office

on the 1st day of January, 1881. In the general election of 1888 Judge Guthrie was re-elected by a large majority over his democratic opponent, Mr. Green, to serve for the term of eight years longer, commencing on January the 1st, 1889.

Judge Guthrie resides in Mason county, having become a resident thereof in 1867, moving thither from Wirt county in that year. The judge read law at the Michigan university, his principal instructor being the Hon. Thomas M. Cooley, the Jay professor of law in that great institution of learning. He made rapid progress while a student there — such progress that upon his return he was able to pass a satisfactory examination in the usual preparatory branches of the lawyer's studies so as to obtain a license to practice his chosen profession, and in 1867 he was admitted to the bar.

After entering upon the law practice, he continued his diligence as a student, his choice text-books being those treating on pleading, practice and evidence. In these branches of his profession he became an adept, and he has made good use of his knowledge in this behalf in the active discharge of his official duties. He also read extensively in the other text-books, such as those relating to contracts, the domestic relations, agency, the law of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, corporations, land tenures and titles, and criminal law. He is not now, nor has he ever been, a case hunter. He has at all times, chosen rather to rely upon the great principles and maxims of the law, than upon the work of searching for adjudicated cases, to determine his opinion in the various causes coming before him for decision. Of course it is needless to say that he keeps abreast of the current decisions of his own state courts and many others too; but he does not study these as he does the great sages and masters of the profession with whom he is perfectly at home and in whose companionship he delights to dwell. But he is not an indiscriminate reader of law treatises; there are many, he thinks, which ought never to have been written, so far as the benefits to the law profession are to be considered.

Those branches of the law in which the present circuit judge of our valley took a special and pure delight, when at the bar, were pleading, practice and evidence; but especially the two former. These he regards as the great touch-stone of the lawyer's qualifications for his entry upon professional life. He makes frequent exemplifications of his opinions in this direction, in his numerous examinations of applicants for law license. He has oft times remarked that a good pleader must needs be a good lawyer. He is the avowed enemy of all redundancy, and has, on more than one occasion, admonished the bar against it in plead-

ing. Nor does he countenance this in legal argument, always urging the attorneys to confine themselves to the sharp points of difference between them in the presentation of their cases.

As a judge, F. A. Guthrie is conscientious, able, prompt and decisive; affable in his intercourse with lawyer and suitor; rarely impetuous, and only so, when forbearance ceases to be longer a virtue. He is candid both on and off the bench, and admires it in those whom he is glad to name as his friends. He delights in fairness in the practice of the law, and exacts it from those who transact business in his courts, and no one can expect to retain his esteem who disregards this virtuous characteristic. Nothing provokes him more than to witness the evidence of its want. The judge's favorite text-books are Chitty on Pleading, Greenleaf on Evidence, Chitty's General Practice and Blackstone's Commentaries. These he has read and re-read until they have become a part of his very being. Then come Parsons on Contracts and Cooley's Constitutional Limitations. He has frequently said that society itself, the great nursery of civilization, is founded on contract, and all the relations which arise from it have alike their foundations in the wide domain of the law of contracts. One cannot know, says he, too much of this branch of our profession. The profound lawyer must be thoroughly conversant with it. The mind of Judge Guthrie is purely analytical, and his reasoning strikingly of the inductive method. One authority means but one case to him. The great question with him always is, "What is the current of authority and the logical deductions upon this point?" The answer to this is his determination. Judge Guthrie is a great lover of nature and art. He takes great pleasure in the study of geology and botany, and has pursued these studies as matters of diversion for several years. Judge Guthrie is an agreeable companion and a pleasing figure in the social circle.

Judges Fry and Duncan were eminent judges and lawyers in our valley who reflected great honor upon our profession by their learning and ability as well as by their sterling integrity; and of the former of whom a distinguished lawyer once said: "I never knew but one judge in all my practice who would give an absolutely fair bill of exceptions, and that was Judge Fry."

The bar of the Kanawha valley has been adorned with some of the brightest ornaments of the legal profession, both in its earlier and later history, who were either denied, or never coveted, the honors that lie beyond the pathway of professional life and its burdens, and who were content with the honors that lay in the true promotion of a client's fortunes. It is not always that our ablest men are crowned with the halo of fame. Many great men live and die in comparative obscurity, their reputations being circumscribed by the immediate sphere in which they

move. This is true of many of the lawyers of the Kanawha valley, and of none more so than the late Hon. Henry J. Fisher, who came to the bar about the year 1822, and in the next year he moved to Mason county, where he began the practice of his profession, and where he ever after lived until the time of his death, which occurred on the 31st day of January, 1883. He came to the bar a very poor man, but by his great success there, and his frugality, he died comparatively wealthy. He was an inveterate student and a man of most prodigious memory. He studied, not only the English text-books, including the black letter law, and also the English reports, but the American treatises and reports too. He not only read these repositories of the law, but he made a critical study of them. His preference was always for the reports, for the reason, as stated by himself, that they are the very fountains of legal lore. He thought that every student and practitioner of our profession should keep a common-place book, and note in it every important principle of the law, together with the authorities in the support of it. This has been the habit of many of our eminent lawyers and jurists, such as Story, Kent, Greenleaf, Parsons and others. He was fond of history and literature, and kept a good assortment of books on these subjects in his library, which, at the time of his death, was the largest in our valley, if not in the whole state. He was strongly of the opinion that a lawyer ought to be a good linguist, and in speaking of this always cited the eminent judges and attorneys of Europe as illustrative of the benefits afforded by language study.

His license was suspended on one occasion for the period of twelve months for insisting in a criminal case against the court's instructions, that in such cases the jury are the judges of both the law and the facts. This case was carried by Mr. Fisher to the supreme court of appeals and decided in favor of the appellant, and hence Mr. Fisher was restored to his privileges as an attorney. This cause is reported in volume six of Leigh's Reports. The circuit judge who made the order of suspension, makes this statement in such order, which is decidedly complimentary to Mr. Fisher: "As he possesses more than an ordinary share of legal learning, and is the efficient prosecutor of the pleas of the commonwealth in the county courts of two of the counties of this circuit, the court cannot arrive at the conclusion that the singular proposition and arguments here set down were either the result of ignorance of the law or mistaken conceptions in relation thereto." This very doctrine contended for by Mr. Fisher has since been announced by our supreme court as law.

With all of Mr. Fisher's learning and ability his will was assailed by his heir as void on the ground of its offending against the law of perpetuity and the United States circuit court set it

aside because of this defect which it contained. In his arguments before courts and juries he made frequent use of his extensive knowledge by apt quotations both from prose and poetic writings and many of these were touching and singularly beautiful.

Upon his return home from the south, at the close of the war, when passion and prejudice were at their extreme height, and he could not practice law, bring a suit, act as a juror or witness, vote or hold an office, he repeated these lines from Campbell's "Exile of Erin":

Sad is my fate, said the heart-broken stranger,
The wild deer and wolf to a covert can flee.
But I have no refuge from famine and danger,
A home and a country remain not to me.

He was very felicitous at repartee, and there were very few, if any, who ever scored a point on him in the use of this happy faculty.* A contemporary at the bar was once arguing a case before a jury in a manner indicating great ease on the part of the advocate, at the same time passing some copper cents, first from one hand and then to the other, which attracted Mr. Fisher's attention, and looking up at the speaker, Mr. Fisher asked, "What is that you have in your hands, Colonel ——?" Colonel —— pausing in his discussion, and fixing with his eyes in earnest gaze upon Mr. Fisher, replied, "brass, Mr. Fisher, of which you have your share." To which Mr. Fisher quickly replied, "I thought it was cents (sense), and if it was, I know you need a little more than you have got." On another occasion, he had a suit in which the defendant was a negro, and the plaintiff (Mr. Fisher) and the defendant were both examined as witnesses in each other's behalf. The evidence was contradictory and counsel for the defendant insisted that the testimony of his client was entitled to as much credit as that of Mr. Fisher, assigning as a reason therefor, that the same God that made Mr. Fisher had also made William W—— (his client). In reply to this part of the counsel's argument, after hurriedly reviewing the history of the African race, Mr. Fisher said: "Major —— says that his client's testimony is entitled to as much weight before this jury as mine, because the same God made us both. And let me remind Major —— that the same God that made him (Major ——), also made the jackass." Mr. Fisher was a firm believer in a future state of existence, and died in the full hope of realizing his belief in the immortality of the soul.

A distinguished contemporary of Mr. Fisher was Hon. Benjamin H. Smith, who came to the bar in the same year in which Mr. Fisher was admitted, 1822. Mr. Smith was educated at the Ohio university and graduated there in 1819, and studied law at Lancaster, Ohio, under the late Hon. Thomas Ewing, Sr., who

advised him to locate in the Kanawha valley, and accordingly he located in Charleston in March, 1822.

At the spring term of the court, 1823, young Smith had sixty suits for citizens of Ohio and Kentucky, arising out of the salt interests in the Kanawha valley and his conduct of these causes gave such satisfaction that he found himself in the enjoyment of a good practice which he held as long as he remained at the bar.

In the earlier history of our section disputes over land titles were a fruitful source of litigation and to this branch of the law Colonel Smith turned his attention with assiduous application and soon placed himself in the van of his profession in this behalf. In speaking of him in this connection Mr. Atkinson says: "It is, I believe, conceded on all sides that he has, in this obtruse branch of jurisprudence, always maintained his position as the first lawyer of the state, when the Virginias were one. From 1831 to 1874 he was actively employed in every land case of importance in the circuit court, and in many out of it; most of them being of great complexity, and involving lands of great value. One of these cases occupied twenty-six days in the trial, and another thirty-one days. In all of the vast number of land cases in which the colonel has been engaged as an attorney, about nine-tenths of them have been decided in favor of his clients. This, of itself, would establish his reputation as a land lawyer." He was United States district attorney for the western district of Virginia during the presidential term of Taylor and Fillmore. He was again appointed to this office in 1862 by President Lincoln and held it for five years, when he resigned and was succeeded by General Nathan Goff. Touching his character as a lawyer, Mr. Atkinson makes this observation: "His choice of occupation was his profession. He followed it because he loved the study and practice of the law. He has always been a hard student, preparing his cases, so far as argument and understanding their points were concerned, with great care. * * * * Colonel Smith affected none of the graces of oratory. His strength has been in his sound common sense and his intimate acquaintance with the law."

Among the able lawyers of the valley, whose genius for the law shed luster upon the profession, was Hon. William A. Quarrier, of Kanawha county, who came to the bar a few years prior to the war. His studies and practice were abruptly checked by the outbreak of the late war, and he could not resume his practice upon the close of the war until 1873, by reason of his participation in the movements of the southern Confederacy. With his re-entry upon the practice of his profession, he pursued it with marked success until his bright and promising career as a lawyer was unexpectedly ended by his sudden death, which occurred in Charleston, in 1888. "Death came all too

soon," and cut him down almost in the very bloom of his stalwart manhood. His practice in the state and federal courts was extensive and lucrative. His great success had enabled him to repair those heavy losses which a long and cruel war entailed upon him, and had he been spared a little while longer, the fruits of his professional exertions would have brought him a sure competency for his little family. Mr. Quarrier was a lawyer void of all redundancy in conversation, argument or pleading, but always pointed and clear. He was a pure logician and displayed his powers as such in arguments and briefs before courts and jurors.

There were two young men at the Kanawha bar, who, had they lived, would have become eminent lawyers, and possessed talent sufficient to have ranked themselves among the profound jurists of our country. They were William H. Hogeman and James H. Nash, of Charleston. In many respects they were much alike. They were each hard students and fond of the law, and each had a *genius* for the law. Each had the gifted faculty of stating a law point with striking and admirable precision and clearness, and both were successful in practice. Each of them died at an early age.

Mr. Hogeman was for many years the efficient attorney for the C. & O. R. R. company on that part of the line running through the state of West Virginia.

Col. Isaac Smith, the son of Hon. Benjamin H. Smith, was a safe counselor and a good lawyer in our valley who was cut down in the flower of his professional life, and who, had he lived, would have made his mark at our bar. Above and beyond his professional attainments, he was a man of sterling integrity and an exemplary Christian. He was for many years the law partner of Edward B. Knight, Esq.

The late Judge Matthew Dunbar was another able lawyer who lived and died in the Kanawha valley, and a more honest man in all his dealings with mankind never moved in our midst than Mr. Dunbar. He was for a long time prosecuting attorney of Kanawha county, and it is said he acted as circuit judge at one time in the history of our valley. He studied law under James Wilson, Esq., who was an early prosecuting attorney of Kanawha county, and who was a Scotchman by birth and was a contemporary of Benjamin H. Smith and Henry J. Fisher, and rode the circuit with them on horseback, and many are the anecdotes related of him illustrating his fondness for humor. He was a good lawyer and a successful practitioner.

C. E. Doddridge and Joseph L. Fry were members of our bar in the Kanawha valley, the former of whom was a son of the justly celebrated Philip Doddridge, and who practiced law for

many years at the Charleston bar, and in the earlier history of the valley engaged actively in the pursuit of his profession.

Judge Fry was a lawyer of fine ability and heartily devoted to his profession, and took high rank as a jurist among the lawyers of our valley. Maj. Andrew Parks was another able and successful lawyer in former days, among us, and was considered a well-informed and safe land-lawyer.

Among the promising and well informed young lawyers of our valley was Daniel W. Polsley, a son of the late Judge Polsley, and who was for some time associated in partnership with his father in the practice of the law. He was a most excellent special pleader, and his opinion on matters of this character were often sought by his brother attorneys, and they were always held in the highest estimate. Indeed he was, in all respects, a fine draftsman and a good lawyer. It is the generally accepted opinion by our profession that an extensive knowledge of the law, and a clear perception of its principles are essential to the skillful special pleader. He was much devoted to the law, and found his purest delight in its study and investigation of its principles.

Henry J. Fisher, Jr., the son of the late Hon. Henry J. Fisher, gave great promise of becoming a learned lawyer, and, no doubt, would have achieved distinction in the law, but for his early death, which occurred in June, 1887. The late Judge James W. Hoge, of Winfield, regarded him as a man possessing a high order of talent, and thought that if he lived he would out-rank his father in our profession. He was a young man possessed of a fine literary training, and was well equipped for the work and labors of the lawyer.

The living members of the bar to-day are strong, able men, and many of them are classed among the most thorough and successful of our entire state. Among these are: Messrs. Knight, Brown, McCorkle, Dyer, Payne, Green, Couch (G. E.), Chilton (W. E. and J. E.), Broun, Jackson, Johnson, Nash, Switzer, Cargill, Gunn, Simpson, Spencer, Menage, Gibbons, Howard, Tomlinson, Wiley, Beller, Couch (J. H., Jr.), St. Clair, Wilson and others, whose names do not occur to us at this time.

We should be pleased to devote time and space to the consideration of the professional lives of these active and honorable members of our profession, but the limits to which we are confined by this contribution forbid, and our people will read their history in their daily walks of life and as reflected by their active labors in the court room and the reports of our supreme court of appeals.

